



# KANGURA

N°44

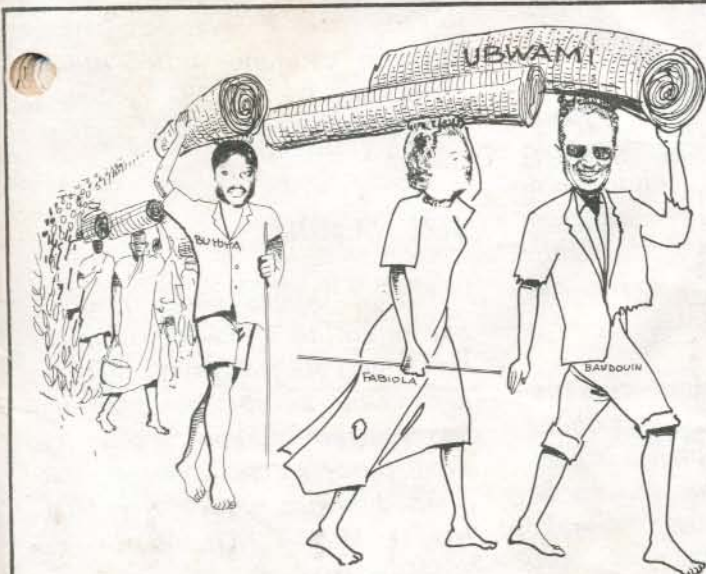
IJWI RIGAMIJE GUKANGURA NO  
KURENGERA RUBANDA  
NYAMWINSHI.

100 FRW

JUIN -1993

- Ni nde uzaba Perezida wa Repubulika y'u RWANDA nyuma y'amatora ?
- BURUNDI: NDADAYE atitonze yagwa muri système UPRONA, bi-gatuma PALIPEHUTU ikemura ibi-bazo ikoresheje intambara.
- URUSESA IMANZA: Nyuma y'iyicwa ry'abanyagitarama, KAVARUGANDA yatahuweho n'ubusambo: Byombi azabikira ate ?
- BURUNDI: UPRONA izasenyuka nyuma y'amatora y'abadebite.

- GISENYI: Abagore bakoze imyiga-ragambyo bavuma Commandant BIZIMANA.



Ububiligi mu marembera.



NGO KOMANDA BIZIMANA YASHYIZEHO  
UMUTWE WO KURASA NGEZE !



# EDITORIAL

## Ni nde uzaba Perezida wa Repubulika nyuma y'amatora azaba mu Rwanda ?



UZATORWA NI UMUHUTU, AHUBWO TUREBE ABAZAMUSHYIGIKIRA

Iqihe kirageze ngo KANGURA itangire gushakisha uzaba Perezida wa Repubulika nyuma y'amatora y'ubutaha. Ibyo tubitangiye kubera ko amatora y'i Burundi twarangije kuyakoraho ibya ngombwa byose. Ibyo twabonaga niko byagenze ndetse twaranabishimiye. Ubu Kangura itangiye akazi katoroshye ko gushakisha uzaba Perezida wa Repubulika mu Rwanda. Bizatugora kuko bizasaba ko tubonana n'abanya politiki banyuranye, tubonane n'abasaza b'inararibonye. Tubonane na rubanda rugufi rwo runatezweho amajwi azimika uwo dutazeho kuba Perezida.

AMASOMO TWAHERAHO YABA AYAHE ?

Mu Rwanda nta mututsi uza-haba Perezida wa Repubulika uko byagenda kose. Keretse bibaye ku ngufu z'imbunda. Impamvu tuvuze ibyo ni uko abahutu bose nyuma y'iyi ntambara, nibabona umututsi bazamubonamo ubwami. Bimwibutse uburetwa byakubitoraho n'ibyo inkotanyi zakoze mu bitero byazo byamaze hafi imyaka itatu akarushaho kuzinukwa. Bigakubitoraho n'uko amagambo y'abayobozi b'inyenzi nayo ateye kwibaza bo bemeza ko inyenzi zateye zije kurengera inyungu z'abatutsi barengana. Biragaragara ko nta mututsi watorerwa kuba Perezida wa Repubulika, usibye ko nabo batatinyuka kwiyamamaza uwo mwanywa. icyo tudahakana ni uko abatutsi bashobora kwiyoberanya bagashyira umuhutu w'igikoreshe imbere. Nk'uko bimeze ubu kuri Kanyaragwe na Lizinde, Biseruka n'abandi....

Mu Rwanda hari amashyaka asaga 16. Ayo mashyaka yose yashinzwe aharanira ubutegetsi ngo nabuqeraho azabone uko arengera inyungu z'abo ahaqarariye. Bunabe n'uburyo bwo guhitisha ibitekerezo byayo mu buryo bworoshye. Ariko uko ayo mashyaka ari 16 yose siko aziyamamariza umwanya wa Perezida wa Repubulika. Yewe n'umwanya w'ubudepite siko ayo mashyaka yose aziyamamaza. Impamvu nta yindi ni uko muri yo hari aya-shinzwe by'umurimbo gusa. Ayo mashyaka ni ya yandi yumva amatora yegereje aqahitamo kwiyunga n'amashyaka afite ingufu aqira ngo natsinda azabone nk'umwanya w'ubudiregiteri, cyangwa se undi mwanywa uciriritse. Reka dufate umubare w'amashyaka yose maze turebe ashobora guhatana. Hari MRND, MDR, CDR, PDI, PSD, PL, PDC, PPJL, RAMA RWANDA, PECO, MFBP, RTD, PARERWA, PADER, UDPR, PSR, na PD.

Muri ayo mashyaka rero hashobora kubonekamo Perezida wa Repubulika ni atatu gusa, : MRND, MDR, CDR. Impamvu dutanze ariya atatu ni uko yo aboneka mu mpande zose z'u Rwanda. Biragaragara ko uwo abayoboke bayo batatora atahita. N'ubwo kandi ariyo yagaragaye ko akomeye, nayo adafatanije n'ariya mashyaka afite ingufu nke ntacyo yageraho.

Urugero rwa hafi ni ariya mashyaka mato, hari afite abayoboke bagira akamaro mu gutanga insinzi. Twavugaga nka PSD ifite abayoboke benshi muri Butare gusa. PDI nayo igiye igira abayoboke bake mu turere twose tw'u Rwanda. Na PL ishobora kuzasenyukira muri FPR, umunsi yatashye.

Amashyaka PL na FPR azaba afite abayoboke benshi kuko azaba abumbye abatutsi benshi ndetse n'abahutu bazaba bemeye kuba

PL rero ni amashyaka nayo ashobora gutanga insinzi kuko aguhaye amajwi yayo (14%) y'abayoboke bayo byakugirira akamaro.

BIZAGENDA BITE KURI MRND.

Kugeza ubu MRND ntirerekana politiki yayo yatuma abayoboke bayo bayitoro. Yewe ntirerekana neza uwo izatanga ku mukandida wa Perezida wa Repubulika ndetse n'uzaba umukuru wa MRND ntaragaragara, nyuma yaho Ikinani giserezeye kuba umukuru wayo. Aha abantu bakaba barahere mu gihirahiro bibaza politiki izatangwa, iryo shyamba maze abantu ikabanyura bigatuma umukandida wayo ku mwanya wa Perezida wa Repubulika atorwa. Benshi bibaza niba mu kwamamaza izakomeza kuvugabumwe, abahutu bo muri MRND bemeza ko ari bwo bwatumye abatutsi badutera. Twe tukubusinziriyemo. Nyuma y'ibyo kandi MRND isabwwe kuzareba andi mashyaka yo kuyishyigikira nk'uko twabivuze haruguru. Igiteye ubwo-ba ni uko abo MRND yakijije ubu banze gutanga imisanzu yatuma ishyamba ritera imbere. Nabayitanze ugasanga baratanga intica ntiki. None se ko MRND yabakijije bategereje iki nayo ngo bayifashe itsinde ?

BITE NA MDR ?

Iryo shyamba naryo riboneka mu turere tw'u Rwanda dore ko hari abariyobotse banyita MDR ya kera. Ubu bakaba barabuze uko babyifatamo nyuma y'aho iryo shyamba risa nk'aho riciyemo ibice bitatu bitavugabumwe. Hari MDR-HUTU, MDR-TUTSI, MDR-GITARAMA. Iryo shyamba kugira ngo ritsindire umwanya wa Perezida wa Repubulika ni ngombwa ko ribanza gusobanurira neza abayoboke banyo uko risa, uko riteye n'icyo rigamije. Bityo rikungira biriya bice bitatu ? Ibyo byarangira bikagaragaza niba rizabogamira kuri FPR, cyangwa se niba rizabogamira kuri CDR. Ibyo



shobora gutsinda amatora ya Perezida wa Repubulika. Impamvu ni nyinshi kuko kugeza magingo aya nta programu riratangira yatuma abariyobotse biyemeza kuritorera umukandida ku mwanya wa Perezida wa Repubulika. Usanga gahunda y'iryo shyamba yarakunze kugaragaza ko ryo ryishakira inzibacyuho gusa, maze abayobozi banyo bakibonera ubutegetsi bakirira nk'abandi bese, ari muri MRND, cyangwa se MDR.

Nta muyoboze barerekana ngo turebe niba ari miseke igoroye maze abayoboze bamwumve barebe niba koko yababera umukuru w'igihuho. Byose birashoboka muri Politiki. Ingufu za PSD na FPR zizabakomeye cyane cyane na MRND na MDR.

#### BITE SE MURI CDR ?

Iryo shyamba ubu rigeze aho gukomera cyangwa se gushyirahwa. CDR yagaragaye ko ari umutamenyewe yereka abanyarwanda n'amahanga ko iri mu mpande zose z'u Rwanda. Yerekana ko icyo idashatse kidashobora kuba. Ko naho cyaba cyabyara imvururu, CDR yerekanye ko ifite abayoboze mu ahuho hose ndetse no mu mashyamba yose ihafite abayoboze yo na FPR. Ariko n'ubwo CDR yerekanye izo ngufu bwose iracyafite imbara itoroshye yayitsinda ikabona gutegeka uko yifuza.

CDR iteye ite ? Yavutse ari ishyamba rirengerwa rubanda nyamwinshi, yereka inyenzi ko zidateze gufata u Rwanda ku ngufu. Ko naho abahutu bapfa ko batabura n'uwumuti usigara. CDR yasabye abahutu bese kunga ubumwe .... ngo barwane ku

rwababyaye. CDR yasabye ko ikibazo cy'inyenzi cyakemurwa mu nzira y'imishyikirano. Hakabaho amatora, utsinze akaba ari we utegeka. Yumvisha abahutu ko bareka gukina mu bikomeye, ko umukino barimo bashobora gutuma u Rwanda rusubira ku ngoma ya cyami. Iryo shyamba ryaje kwitabirwa cyane. Ariko naryo ntiriragaragaza niba rizatangira umukandida ku mwanya wa Perezida wa Repubulika. Kugeza ubu niryamba shyamba ritari muri Guverinoma. Kandi rirakomeye. Ni naryo shyamba ridafite umwanya mu nzego z'ubutegetsi kereka ikigo gitegekwe na Bucyana Martin, Perezida wabyo. Niba rifite uwo rizatangira ku mwanya wa Perezida wa Repubulika rero, niba ahari ni nde? Ateye ate ? Yagaragaye he ko yashobora kurengera inyungu za rubanda nyamwinshi ? Yatanze ate umusanzu w'ishyamba ?

CDR kandi igomba kugaragaza icyo izakora umunsi FPR yakomeje ubugome bwayo. Dore ko bivugwa ko FPR nimara kugera mu nzego z'ubutegetsi, izashyamba indi ntambara yazatuma ifata ubutegetsi bwose.

CDR nigaragaze icyo izakora icyo gihe. Usibye ko yanavugaga uko bizagenda umunsi FPR yarekeye aho ubugome bwayo, iye yitonze. Icyo gihe FPR yerekanye ko iretse agasuzuguro, ikerekana ko idashyamba indi ntambara, CDR irasabwa kugaragaza indi porogaramu, nshya, yakoresheye kugira ngo abariyobotse bemere kuyitorera umukandida izaba yatanze ku mwanya wa Perezida wa Repubulika.

CDR IFITE INGORANE ZIDAHUYE N'IZABANDI

Andi mashyamba CDR yayakenera mu rwego rwo kugira ingufu za politiki gusa. Naho ku byerekeye ingufu z'abayoboze, CDR igomba gukora ibishoboka byose ikabona abayoboze bangana na 3/5 by'abashobora gutora kuko yo ntayo iziyunga nayo. Umva nta shyamba rigwiriyemo abatutsi rishobora kwiyunga na CDR. N'andi mashyamba agwiriyemo abahutu nayo arashyamba kwitangira umukandida wabo. Kubera ibyo tumaze kuvugaga haruguru, biragaragara ko mu mashyamba akomeye mu Rwanda, MRND, MDR, CDR, batarerekana neza uwo bashobora gutanga mu matora ya Perezida wa Repubulika na Politiki yatangaza ikaryohere abamatora.

FPR yo umwanya wa Perezida wa Repubulika izi ko itakwirirwa iwusaba kuko yabonye isomo i Burundi aho ubutegetsi bwa gitutsi bwabonye amajwi agayitse cyane. Gusa ishobora gushyamba imvururu, igamije kurangaza rubanda maze igafata ubutegetsi ku ngufu. Igashobanurira amahanga ko yabufashye ishamba guhosha imvururu. Icyo gihe kandi n'abahutu baba bashirira. Iperereza ryacu nisesengura riracyakomeza. Duhaye urubuga amashyamba yifuza kuzahatanira uwo mwanya wa Perezida wa Repubulika akatubwira uko yo atekereza. Kugeza ubu twe turabona ntawe urigaragaza watorerwa kuba Perezida wa Repubulika na politiki yagenderaho.

NGEZE Hassan.

## Ibaruwa nzozu ku Bahutu bese dusangiye ibanga.

NGEZE Hassan  
KANGURA

Kigali, le 10/06/1993

Bahutu bene wacu, nyuma y'uko mbagezaho ubushize ibaruwa twandikiye itwari Mutombo Joseph, twifuza ko yazadusubiza atubonekera mu ndoto. Mu gihe rero dusinziriye, aho kubonekerwa na Mutombo, haje kuza

umusore mwiza ufite roho gusa dore ko umubiri wasigaye naho ku isi. Uwo musore akaba yitwaga NKURUNZIZA. Ibyo twaganiriyemo muri izo nzozu biteye agahinda, twamaranye amasaha atanu yose. Yatangirye atubaza amakuru y'amashyamba. Tumubabwirako ubu yose yacecetse. Atubaza impamvu: tumubabwirako hashyirizweho itegeko ryo kuba rihagaritse za mitingiri kubera impamvu z'umutekano.

Yakomeje atubaza nuko muri CDR byifashye mubwira ko duhagaze neza ku bigaragara hanze. Akimara kumva icyo gisubizo yarahigimye, mubaza impamvu, atemera ibyo mubwirako. Ansubiza ko usibye kubura umubiri gusa naho ubundi roho ye itapfuye ko ihari, iri i ruhande rwa Gihanga. Ati tube dukomeje ibya CDR, turabigarukaho mu kanya. Ati bite no muri MDR, musubiza ko muri iryo



shyaka harimo ibice bitatu. Igice cya mbere kigizwe n'inyenzi, igice cya kabiri kigizwe na CDR, n'igice cya gatatu kigizwe n'abanyagitarama gusa. Ku byerekeye Perezida w'iryo shyaka cyane cyane urusaku rwamurangaga, mu-subiza ko urwo rusaku ubu rwashize kubera ko yatahuweho gusebya mu-sanzire we. Kandi uwo musanzire ari-we wemerwaga na benshi mu gihugu. Ambaza icyo nyiri ubwite abitekerezaho. Mubwira ko atagihari ko yishwe n'abantu bataramenyekana ariko mu babatumye, ubu hakaba hakekwa Twagiramungu. Ubwo Nkurunziza ambwira ko nta gitangaza kirimo kuko atari uwa mbere ntabe n'uwa nyuma uhitanywe na Twagiramungu. Ati bite se muri PSD? Namubwiye ko ubu PSD yiganje i Butare no ku Mumena, ku buryo gutandukanya PSD na PL ubikora ushishoje dore ko bose basa. Ko abayobozi ba PSD icyo bakoze uhereye kuri Gatabazi, baranzwe no kwigwizaho umutungo aho waba uvuye hose. Ngo ubwo nibwo buryo kuri bo bwa nyuma bwo gusahura igihugu. Ibyakozwe na PSD byabara abatuye i Kigali gusa. Nibwo yambazaga by'umwihariko ko nibuka, impamvu yatumye yitaba Imana. Ngiye kubivuga a-n-saba guceceka maze akabyivugira.

Ati: Ishyaka rikimara kuvuka, twabyitabiriyeyi turi benshi. Amagambo y'abayobozi ba CDR niyo yatugeraga ku mutima. Ati nakundaga Bucyana iyo yavugaga ko yanga agasuzuguro k'abatutsi, ngakunda Barayagwiza iyo yavugaga ko tugomba kurwanya iterabwoba aho riva rikagera. Agakomeza avuga ko kurengera inyungu za rubanda nyamwinshi, bigomba gushyirwa mu bikorwa. Ati nkiri ku isi yanyu y'ibibazo, nakundaga kumva aho Nzabandora aburanira abahutu. Ati nakundaga Mugimba ukuntu yasuhuzaga abayoboze ba CDR no kubaha agacupa. Ati nakundaga kumva Nahimana aho yabanzaga gushishoza mbere yo kuvuga. Ati noneho reka nkugezeho icyo tutazi neza. Ati mwibuka inama ya Guverinoma ivuga ko igiye gusesa ishyaka ryacu? Ati rwose twavuze ko ari twe dushakwa nibwo twikoze no ku Kacyiru mu gitondo kare. Dukora imyigaragambyo yo kwereka Mbonampekaka ko asubiza inkota mu rwubati. Akavanyaho icyemezo cyo gusesa CDR. Uwo muni iyo myigaragambyo yacu ytabiriwe n'abahutu benshi. Ukuntu twanganaga nibyo byari biteye umwanzu duhanganye ubwoba.

Ubwo umupolisi w'umututsi wari nafi aho, ubwinshi bwacu bwaramuriye, yakumva n'uko twavugaga ngo Impuza-



NKURUNZIZA

mugambi turi maso. ngo turangwe n'ubufatanye bwa rubanda nyamwinshi, akumva umutwe we ugiye gusandara. Nibwo nyewe Nkurunziza na mugenzi wanjye mubona kuri iyo foto, umupolisi aturoshyemo ururasu. Ubwo aduturitsa imitima. Mu gihe twasambaga twembi, twahuriye ku ijamba rimwe: ngo n'ubwo dupfuye bwose dusize abagabo muri CDR. Ati noneho imiryango yacu izasurwa. Abacu dusize ishyaka rizabitaho. Ati mu ishyaka bazashyiraho uburyo bwo guhora batwibuka dore ko ari twe twabaye abambere mu kumena amaraso yacu, tuzira ishyaka kandi tukagwa mu myigaragambyo yo kugaragaza icyo ishyaka ritekereza. Ubwo imirambo yacu yaje kujyanwa mu buruhukiro bw'ibitaro bya Kigali ari naho wowe NGEZE wadufotoreye ariya mafoto. icyashimishije roho zacu n'uko mu kuza kutuvana mu buruhukiro haje abagabo bagaragara ko bababaye. Bituma roho zacu zikomeza kugira icyizere ko imiryango yacu izafatwa neza. Muri abo bari aho hari:

- Ntawumenyumunsi Daniel uyobora Petrorwanda.
- Mugimba, umunyamabanga w'ishyaka
- Gasore Zacharie, igikwerere cyo ku Gisenyi

- Hari n'abandi bahutu benshi barimo Silivesitiri Ndabarinze, ukora muri Minisiteri y'Ubucamanza. Ubwo imirambo yacu yajyanywe mu ngo zacu ya-



GAFARANGA

raye mu buruhukiro. Ababyeyi bacu bashatse kujya kudushyingura, abayobozi b'ishyaka barabihagarika, bavuga ko twahambwa ku wundi muni, hari abayoboze b'ishyaka. Bityo bikagaragariza u Rwanda rwose ko ari twe tutazibagirana mu mateka ya CDR. Dore ko byari binagishyushye.

Ndibuka umurongo wakoze uva ku biro bya CDR ukagera i Nyamirambo aho dutegereje izuka ryacu. Twibuka ijamba Visi-Perezida wa CDR yavuze ubwo twashyingurwaga, yeli ko duhambwe nk'intwari. Ko tuzahora twibukwa. None rero NGEZE, reka ngutume ku bayobozi ba CDR bose, uzabampere ibibazo bikurikira: niba gusuzugura uzabingezeho mu zindi ndoto. Ntumbaze impamvu, nibanze mu biganiriro jyeneyine, ni uko uyu mugenzi wanjye yanze kuvuga kubera agahinda afitiye abo yasize. Kuko abona ntacyo bamumariye.

Nkurunziza ati twapfuye tuzize ishyaka kuki ntacyo ishyaka ryakoze? Kuki ntawigeze atekereza gusura abo twasize, abagore bacu n'abana bacu? Ese hari abibuka ko twarashwe tuzira imyigaragambyo yo kuburizamo icyemezo guverinoma yashakaga gufata cyo gusesa CDR? Ese ubu aho twari dutuye, twari ducumbitse, ubu amazu abana bacu babamo arihwa na nde? Ese ko mwabonye twarahambwe n'abantu benshi aho ntitwabanukiraga? None se ko bihuriye kuduhamba



ari benshi hakabura n'umwe usubira gusura imiryango yacu, uhereye ku bagize komite y'ishyaka? Ese ko abayoboke bo hasi bifuza guteranya udufaranga two kugoboka abo twasize iheruheru, batagira kirengera bazabikorabate, batabibwiwe na komite? Ese muri Komite barabona nibikomeza kuriya bizagarukira he? Uzatubarize Komite

nawe urimo aho imiryango yacu yagiye kwangarira kubera kubura gifasha. Uzatubarize by'umwihariko icyo Nahimana atekereza ku magambo yavuze ubwo yasozaga umuhango wo kudushyingura. Nimubasha kumenya aho imiryango yacu yangariye muzaba mukoze. Kuko umutima wo kumenya aho iherereye wakomeza ukagera no

kubafasha. Urakoze! Ni ah'ubutaha.

Ngize inzozo narose nganira na bagenzi bacu bitabye Imana bazira ishyaka. Ubwo ubutaha tuzabasubiza tumenye icyo abayoboke babitekerezaho.

NGEZE Hassan

## MUGENZI Yustini, PEREZIDA WA PL YISHINGIYE ISHYAKA NONE ACYUYE UMUNYU.

Ngo koko abatutsi niba "nta munozu". Abakurikiranira hafi ibibera mu Rwanda, bamaze iminsi bibaza impamvu umuminisitiri yakwegura maze hagashira amezi 6 nta wundi uramu simbura.

Ibyo iyo ubinonosoye usanga harimo amacenga menshi ya politiki, hamo uguhimana kw'inzege z'ubutegetsi. Tuvuze amacenga kubera ko bitumvikana ukuntu ishyaka riri muri Guverinoma ryabura umuminisitiri usimbura uweguye kubera impamvu zinyuranye. Ishyaka PL ryashinzwe n'abahutu, barimo Mugenzi, Mbonyampeka, Ntamabyariro. Baje gufatanyira n'abatutsi bifuzaga gucisha ibitekerezo by'inkotanyi muri iryo shyaka. Nk'uko uko ba Lando, Kameya n'abandi bese basigaye baje kwigururira ishyaka bitabagoye maze rikaba ishami rya FPR. Ni naryo ryari rishinzwe koherereza abana mu Nkotanyi. Ibyo byose byaje kurangwamo amakimbirane kuko abatutsi bataje kwemera imyanya baje kugabanywa, dore ko bari bahawe imyanya itatu, ubucuruzi rwanda, wafashwe na Ntamabyariro Agnès w'umuhutu, Mbonyampeka w'umuhutu ahabwa Ubutabera maze na Lando w'umututsi ahabwa imibereho y'abaturage.

### IBIBAZO BYAJE BITE?

Abatutsi baje kubwira abahutu ko hagomba demokrasi, ubutegetsi mu ishyaka bukagabanwa hakoreshejwe umubare wa benshi. Noneho mu mateka y'u Rwanda bari biyemeje kubahiriza demokrasi. Ubusanze, barayirwanya kubera ko itangaza ukwikuza kwabo. Ubwo baje gusobanura ko kubayoboke 100 ba PL, 99 ku ijana ari abatutsi ko rero imyanya yo muri Guverinoma igomba guhabwa abahagarariye benshi n'ukuvuga ko 2/3 by'imyanya yo muri Guverinoma byahabwa abatutsi naho abahutu bo bakeya bagahabwa 1/3. Ubwo byaje kunanirana dore ko Mugenzi atabikozwaga kandi

ari we wishingiye ishyaka. Amakimbirane yarakomeje ubwo Mugenzi yiyambazaga abahutu bene wabo baboneka mu yandi mashyaka, PSD, MDR, na PDC, ku mushyigikira kuri uwo mwanya.

Ubwo ikinani kiza kwemera by'uburyarya ko Mugenzi yakwinjira muri Guverinoma, iminsi mikuru irategurwa. Ubwo abatutsi babonye ko batsinzwe nibwo begereye Ikinani barakibeshya, bacyumvisha ko bazagikorera ibitangaza mu minsi y'amatora. Ko bazumvisha abatutsi bacye b'indahemuka kuzatora MRND. Abo ni nka babandi na n'ubu bacyambara umudari w'ikinani. Ubwo ikinani cyaje kubasaba impamvu zifatika cyazabwira abanyarwanda ko Mugenzi afite ubusembwa bumubuza kuba umutegetsi wo mu rwego rw'igihugu. Nibwo bamuhaye ibitekerezo nyakuri bikubiye mu rwandiko rwashyizweho umukono tariki ya 28/10/1991. Usibye ko Ikinani cyari kibonye uburyo cyereka ko abatutsi ari ba "nta munozu" kubona banga uwabahangiye PL? Dore uko byifashe:

Kangura

Kuri Bwana MUGENZI Yustini  
Perezida wa SORWACI  
Perezida wa PL  
Kigali-Rwanda

Impamvu: Iyicwa rya GATERA David

Bwana Perezida,

Twababajwe n'inkuru y'urupfu rwa murumuna wanyu wishwe n'amasasu y'umusoda Kizungu, amusanze iwe mu rugo i Kinyinya, tariki ya 25 Ukwakira 1991, saa kumi n'ebiri za mu gitondo.

Imbere y'ubwo bwicanyi bubabaje, duhamagariwe kurushaho kongera gutekereza ku mahoro hagati y'abantu, ku kubabarirana no kwihanganirana. Mu by'ukuri, ukubabarirana gusanga iburary'umutekano n'ihutaza ari

byo bibyara ugucagagurwa kw'abantu n'ibintu.

Bwana Perezida, dusanga mu buzima bwanyu bwose, ndetse no muri za disikuru za politiki, muvuga muri ibi bihe, ntimwigeze muba, kandi nti muri intumwa y'amahoro n'ubwihanganirane. Icyo kirego kirakomeye ariko gifite ishingiro nk'uko tugiye kugisese ngura twifashishije ingero zifatika mu mirongo ikurikira.

Ingingo ya 1: Mwibuke Bwana Perezida, mu gihe cya gikolonize, ubwo mwigaga i Bujumbura, mwibye imodoka ya "Résident-Général" wa Ruanda-Urundi witwaga Jean Paul HARROY. Babafatiye ku Kanyaru bibaviramo kwirukanwa i Burundi (Urundi). Icyo gikorwa cyo gutinyuka ahari cyagerekwaga ku maraso ya gisore aho gushyirwa mu rwego rw'ubujura buhambaye, ariko na none mwibuke ko, mu mwaka w'1963 mwirukanywe mu ishuri rya ba ofisiye ry'i Kigali muzira ubusubiracyaha mwiba ijipe ya gisirikari.

Ingingo ya 2: Uburara bwanyu bwongeye kandi kuberekeza iya Uganda, muri Kaminuza ya Makerere. Hashize igihe mwagarukanye mu gihugu impamyabushobozi ya dogiteri mu burezi. Minisitiri w'Uburezi yanze kuyemera kubera ko yari impimbano. Mwasubiye i Makelele noneho muza guhindukirana impamyabushobozi ya lisansi mu burezi.

Ingingo ya 3: Mu mwaka w'1975, mwashinjwe urupfu rw'umugore wanyu w'isezerano. Mwakatiwe urwo gupfa mugize ngo murajurira urukiko rusesa imanza rusanga nta shingiro mfute. Nyuma y'imyaka itandatu mu buroko, Perezida yaje kubagirira imbabazi noneho musubirana ubwigenge bwanyu.

Ingingo ya 4: Mu bukene, nta kizere, mwaje gusunikwa n'inshuti z'igihire kirekire, cyane cyane inkunga itari



shyashya ya murumuna wanyu Gatera David, mubona inguzanyo ya BRD (Banque Rwandaise de Développement) ihwanye na miliyoni 137 z'ama-nyarwanda mwubatsemo uruganda rukora ibitembo. Mwibagiwe kwishyura ideni rya BRD ku buryo urukiko rwa Mbere rw'iremezo rwabahamagaye tariki ya 19 Ugushyingo 1991. Impamvu y'ihamagazwa: miliyoni 480 z'amafaranga y'u Rwanda mugomba kwishyura BRD (ideni-inyungu).

Ingingo ya 5: Mbere yaho, umuhesha w'inkiko, Nyakwigendera Kimonyo yiciwe iwe mu rugo i Nyamirambo mu mwaka w'1987, mwebwe, Bwana Perezida, na murumuna wanyu Gatera David, mwari kuri lisiti ndende y'abakekwa, ariko umwanya mufite wabahe-sheje akabanga, mukaburana muri hanze, mu gihe abandi bakekwaga barimo umucuruzi Gakwaya Gérard bafashwe bagafungirwa muri gereza ya Kigali. Mu mwaka w'1988 mwebwe na murumuna wanyu Gatera mwahamagajwe n'inkiko kubera urupfu rwa Kimonyo. Ibimenyetso bibahamya ubwicanyini: nyakwigendera Kimonyo mwari mwarafatanije kugura inzu ibiro bikuru bya PL bikoreramo ubu. Mubababazwaho kuba mwarikijije uwo mwari mufatanyije kugira ngo mwishimire mu mudendeko mu bikorwa bye mubonye ntacyo mubiguze. Nyakwigendera Kimonyo yasize umupfakazi n'imfubyi nyinshi z'abakobwa zirimo umuhungu umwe Kizungu waje kuba umusirikari akaza kwica Gatera kugira ngo ahorese se Kimonyo.

Mu w'1988 nibwo nyine mwitabye urukiko rwa Mbere rw'iremezo rwa Kigali

- Ubucamanza bwaje guhanagura icyaha kuri Mugenzi kuberako nta bimenyetso bihagije bwari bufite.
- Ubucamanza bwakatiye Gatera David igihano cy'urupfu kubera ko yafatanyije n'abishe Kimonyo.
- Ingorane ziragaragara, umuvandimwe wanyu wabakoreye byose, agiye mu buroko ahetse igihano cy'urupfu. Ariko murakomeye, mufite amafaranga (n'ubwo ayo mafaranga yaba mu by'ukuri ari aya BRD)... mwibuke abacamanza mu kiganza cyanyu ! Nguko uko Gatera yahanguweho icyaha.

**Ingingo ya 6 :** Gatera amaze guhanagurwa ho icyaha ntiyagize amahoro namba, umupfakazi wa Kimonyo,

yakwije ibigambo bitera Gatera ubwoba. Uwo mupfakazi yamusabye amafaranga arayabwira kandi buri gihe agahabwa menshi kurushaho. Uwo mupfakazi nawe yaje gupfa mu buryo budasobanutse. Kugeza magingo aya iby'urupfu rwe ntibirashyirwa ahagaragara.

**Ingingo ya 7 :** Abana ba Kimonyo barakaze, Gatera ntiyigera agira amahwemo : ibigambo bimutera ubwoba byarakomeje. Ngaho abakobwa, ngwwo umuhungu, bose barasaba amafaranga bagenda basimbura mu buryo butaretsa. Gatera ntacyo yashoboraga kubikoraho kandi namwe ubwanyu Bwana Perezida mwari mubizi neza. Kuki rero imbere y'iryo terabwoba, y'iryo hungeta, mutigeze mutabaza ubutegetsi bubishinzwe ngo bubarengere ? Ni mwebwe rwose Bwana Perezida, mushobora gusubiza icyo kibazo.

Tugeze ku ipfundo ry'inkuru y'ubwicanyu bukurikirwa n'ubwicanyu, bugasaba guhora, bugakongeza uburakari bukabije. Noneho rero Bwana Perezida, ni mwibuke ibikorwa bibabaje byo mu gitondo cyo ku wa 25 Ukwakira 1991.

— Umusirikari Kizungu ajya kenshi kwa murumuna wanyu Gatera. Mu rugo baramumenyereye, ateye icyo n'iki, ariko se wakora iki mbere y'umuntu usigaye uza noneho yitwaje intwari ?

— Mu gitondo cy'ishyamba, umusirikari Kizungu ajya kwa Gatera, aherekejwe n'abandi basore 3 bambaye gisivili. Umuzamu yahise amenya Kizungu, amufungurira umuryango w'igipangu. Kizungu ategereye umuzamu guhamagara shebuja, umuzamu aragenda aramuhamagara, Gatera yitaba bwangu yambaye imyenda y'ijoro. Dore ibyo baganiriye nk'uko bivugwa n'umuzamu n'umugore wa Nyakwigendera :

*Gatera : Kizungu, uje gukora iki muri iki gitondo ?*

Kizungu : nje gushaka amafaranga.

*Gatera : sinshobora kubona amafaranga muri iki gitondo, ugaruke ku manywa.*

Kizungu : ndashaka amafaranga no-naha kandi nyuma ndakwica kubera ko wishe data.

(Ahangaha Gatera yahise yiyumvisha

ikimutegereje, abona mu maso y'umuhungu w'umwicanyu ubukana bwinshi, asaba bwangu umugore we kujya gu-shaka amafaranga mu nzu. Umugore nta na kimwe cyamucitse muri icyo kiganiro cy'ubwicanyu ku buryo yahise ahindukirana amafaranga ibihumbi ijana by'u Rwanda. Ikiganiro kirakomeza :)

Kizungu : Ibihumbi ijana ! Ntabwo bihagije kandi ngiye kukwica kubera ko wishe data.

*Gatera : Ndagutakambiyeye rwose, ntu-nyice, uze kongera ugaruke ku manywa, ndaguha amafaranga yose ushaka.*

*Muri icyo kiganiro, umuhungu w'ubwicanyu aba arekuye isasu rya mbere rifata Gatera mu nda, arekura irindi rimwahunyanye umutima. Ahita agwa imbere y'umugore we.*

**Umwanzuro :** Ntidushobora kuvuga ibyo iperereza ritarageraho, ni ryo ryo-nyine rizashyira ahagaragara iby'urupfu rubabaje rwa Gatera, ariko dufite uburenganzira bwo kubaza Mugenzi Yusitini ikibazo :

Mu byukuri koko, dukurikije amakuru tumaze kubagezaho, mu byukuri rwose Gatera yishwe kubera ko yari umuvandimwe wa Perezida wa PL ? Duherereye ku byo tumaze kubona urupfu rwe rufitanye isano na politiki ?

Kuri twe, ibi bihe birakomeye kandi turizera ko ari ngombwa kwigisha amahoro, urukundo n'ubwiyunge hagati y'abantu, kuko mu kuri kose, ubugome bubyara ubundi.

**KAVARUGANDA AKWIYE GUCIBWA URUBANZA MU MAGURU MASHYA.**

Kuva Kavaruganda yajya mu nzego z'ubucamanza, haba muri Parquet ndetse no mu nkiko, uwo mugabo yanzwe no gukangata, igitugu, gusuzugura abakozi, irondakoko n'irondakarere, kwica amategeko abishaka cyangwa se abitewe n'ubuswa. Ngira ngo abakozi b'Urukiko Rusesa Imanza bazi aho abageze abaha amakonji, Kavaruganda yita ay'ububwa cyangwa se akiha guhagarika abacamanza kandi atabifitiye uburenganzira nk'uko byagendekereye Habimana Burya rero ngo nta gahora gahanze. Kavaruganda yabonye inkubiri ya Demokarasi n'amashyamba menshi bigeze mu Rwanda,



## BIRIHUTIRWA

**Ngo Commandant BIZIMANA yashyizeho umutwe ushinze kuzarasa NGEZE Hassan. Ngo uwo mutwe ukoze n'abantu bane tutaramenya neza amazina yabo. Gusa icyo tuzi neza ni uko harimo uwitwaga Twizeyimana Faustin, usanzwe ari icyitso cya Bizimana. Ngo yahawe imbunda y'umugereka yo kuzakora ako kazi. Abandi bari muri uwo mugambi tuzabatangaza nitumara kumenya amazina yabo. Gusa icyo umuntu yakwibaza ni iki : Bizimana yasanze kurasa NGEZE Hassan ari bwo buryo bwo guhisha urupfu rwa Sekidende yatsinze ku Gisenyi ?**

**Ese NGEZE apfuye we abona yabaho ?**

**Ese azi ko NGEZE Hassan naramuka amurashe, abahutu bazabura undi ubavugira ?**

**Ngo yababajwe n'uko KANGURA yamutahuye maze ikaba imwandika mu bibi yakoze. None se aruta Habyarimana, Buyoya, Nkubito, Mugemana ? Yagombye kumenya ko na Koloneri Renzaho ari na Perefe w'Umugi wa Kigali yamaze guceceka kubera demokarasi.**

**Commandant BIZIMANA nashikame tumutoze demokarasi. Tumwereke icyo abaturage bamutekerezaho. Naho kurasa se azarasa kugeza ryari ? Nyamara aho kurasa NGEZE ahubwo wasenya système (uburyo) Ngeze akoresha kandi akoreramo. None se urashe NGEZE, hakaboneka batanu bakorana ubuhanga kumurusha?. Tumaze kumenya iyo nkuru twahise natwe tumufatira ibyemezo atazava imbere naramuka akinishije uwo mukino amenyereye. Twanditse tumurega mu rukiko rwa gisirikari i Nyamirambo. Uko urubanza ruteye muzabisome muri KANGURA y'ubutaha. Na Buyoya ntiyamurutaga. Ngo yakoze fotokopi zirenze 200 kuri Méridien. Ese aho gupfusha ubusa amafaranga y'ikigo, kuki ataziguze ko Kangura igura make ? Azarakara aruhe kuko Kangura itazamureka.**

*Mohamed Omar Gisenyi Podium*

abona ko yaryozwa amarorerwa yose yakoze, nibwo yishyize hawe n'abatavuga rumwe n'ubutegetsi bw'ikinani kugira ngo ajijishye abatamuzi neza, bibwire ko nta ruhare yagize mu kutubahiriza uburenganzira bw'ikiremwa muntu. Ibyo byagiye bigaragarira mu mategeko yagiye yanga kwemeza nta mpamvu, uretse kuburana urwandaze no mu mpapuro z'amahomvu yagiye yandikira Perezida wa Repubulika zisa n'aho zimubwira ko ibyo yagiye yica byose, amateguko yagiye (Kavaruganda) akandagira, byose ntacyo yari ayobewe ahubwo bwari uburyo bwo kwicira inshuro ngo batamunyaga maze agategukwa n'umututsi Ntashamaje.

Arabeshya ariko abanyenduga ntibazibagirwa abantu babo yakoreye amadosiye adafututse ubwo yari Procureur mukuru w'u Rwanda bikageza aho bagwa muri gereza. Mu byukuri rero ibyo rubanda

yirirwa iryoza Lizinde na Habyarimana kw'iyicwa ry'abanyapolitiki b'i Gitarama ni Kavaruganda wago mbye kubisubiza.

Ni nde se uyobewe urubanza rw'urufatirano rutagira umutwe n'ikibuno yaciriye Gatabazi na bagenzi be muri 1985 abahamya kuba baranyereje iby'impunzi zari zavuye muri Uganda naho mu by'ukuri ari ukugira ngo ashimishe mucuti we Nsekalije wari warigize ikigirwamana nkawe wari washeze muri Kongere y'i Butare ngo agomba kubona umutwe wa Gatabazi.

Kavaruganda ingeso yo kurigisha iranze iramukurikiranye. Nk'uko urubanza 2871/Kig. rwaciye na Cour d'Appel ya Kigali tariki ya 5/03/1981 rubihamya, Kavaruganda, uwo mugabo igihe yari Procureur wa Repubulika yafunguye rwihishwa muri Caisse d'Epargne compte No 73.766 yashyiragaho amafaranga y'ibintu rubanda (imo-

doka, amazu) yagurishaga mu cyamunara kidakurikije amateguko. Ni muri urwo rwego kandi rwo kunyereza akoresheje igitugu yafataga (saisie) amamodoka y'abantu hanynuma agakoreshwa kuri za brigades judiciaires. Ibyo byabaye i Kigali, Butare, Kibungo na Gisenyi. Ubu noneho ni amahano.

Ubusanzwe tuzi ko impapuro zose zakirirwaho amafaranga ya Leta zitangwa na Minisitiri y'Imari.

Kavaruganda aho abonye ko abagenzuzi b'imari bashobora kuzamutahuraho kunyereza, yagiye ku giti cye akoresha carnet eshanu za quittanciers muri Imprimerie Printer Set ku buryo butazwi na Minisitiri y'Imari. Ibyo byamufashije kwakira no kunyereza akayabo k'amafaranga kazwi nawe wenyine dore ko abagenzuzi b'imari baje kumubaza iby'izo quittanciers akabwira abajandarume ngo nibaguruka bazabarase. Ubu Minisitiri



Rugenera arashya umutwe yandiki-ra Kavaruganda ngo yorohere abagenzuzi be bakore akazi ariko Kavaruganda ntabikozwa. Ahasigaye rero ni ah'ubucamanza maze Kavaruganda agahanirwa urumukwiye.

Ku byerekeye ubwenge ndaha-

mya ko Kavaruganda ubwe bugerwa ku mashyi. Kavaruganda niwe Pré-sident wenyine w'Urukiko Rusesa Imanza ku isi utari wandika igitabo cyangwa article nibura asobanura iby'amategeko cyangwa imanza zaciwe n'izindi nkiko. Reka dutegere-

ze turebe ko inziba cyuho yaguye yamudukiza ikamusubiza mu mwaya we maze abo yanyaragaho natwe tukamukurura amatwi.

N.S.

Umukozi mu Rukiko  
Rusesa Imanza

## NAROSE NGANIRA NA NDADAYE.

Umushingantahe NDADAYE Melchior ukomoka muri province ya Muramvya niwe wegukanye amajwi menshi mu itora ry'umukuru w'igihugu ryo kuwa 1 kamena Niwe muhutu rero wa mbere ugiye gutegeka u Burundi kuva mu binyejana nka bitanu bishize. Twizere ko za nkoramaraso z'iwabo zizamureka agakora imirimo abanyagihugu bamushinze!

Mu kiganiro-mpimbano twagiranye biragaragara ko uwo munyakuri akunda demokarasi n'ubutabera, amahoro n'ubusabane bw'amoko, agaharanira atizigamye inyungu z'igihugu n'imibereho myiza y'abagituye bese.

NDEKEZI ("NDE") wa Kangura:

Nyiricyubahiro Ndadaye Melchior Perezida wa Repubulika y'u Burundi ukaba n'umukuru w'ishyamba rimaze gutsinda ariryo FRODEBU, mbanje icyakora kukwiseguraho kuko nkuvugisha nkoresha imvugo yo mu buke, "tutoyer" mu gifaransa. Ndumva ariko ari ntacyo bitwaye kuko n'abakirisitu bavugana na Yezu bya kivandimwe.

Mbere na mbere rero nifuje kukubaza icyo uzakora cy'ibanze gihuje no guhindagura ibyahozeho nk'uko biri muri porogaramu ya FRODEBU. Ndadaye ("Nda") perezida: Umbabarire kuguca mu ijamba kuko mbona porogaramu y'ishyamba ryanyije utarayumvise neza. Ntabwo ari uguhindura ibiriho kuko bitanashoboka ahubwo ni ukuvugurura ubutegetsi kugira ngo ibintu birushaho kugenda neza mu butabera no mu mucyo. Hari ibyiza tugomba gushyikigira ariko hari n'ibibi byo kuvugururwa.

Nde : Ariko se wizeye ubuhe bubasha n'izihe ngufu byazatuma ugera ku ntogo wowe n'ishyamba ryawe mwiyeremeje cyane cyane mu rwego

rwo kwubahiriza uburengazira bw'ikiremwantu no gushimangira demokarasi?

Nda : Ububasha burahari; itegekonshina tugenderaho ribasobanura bihagije. Ingufu zo nzifite mu batwara no mu bandi bese baharanira demokarasi.

Nde : Uzabana se ute n'abatutsi bagifite ubutegetsi hafi ya bwose kimwe n'abasirikari bakomoka mu nyoko-ntutsi gusa kandi bikaba bizwi ko batagutuye?

Nda : Natowe n'abarundi bo mu moko yose ndetse no mu basirikare nabonyemo amajwi atari make. Sinapakana icyakora ko abatutsi benshi batishimiye itorwa ryanjye, ariko ndabona nta kibazo gihari. Biganje koko mu nzego zose z'ubutegetsi no mu gisirikare ariko ntibizamubuza gukorana nabo neza mu bwumvikane no mu bwubahane kuko nabo bamaze gucengerwa na demokarasi. Dore no muri Afurika y'epfo ibintu biragenda bihinduka kandi mu buryo bubonye rubanda y'abirabura nubwo hakiri udutsiko tw'abazungu tutava ku izima:

Nde : uzakorana ute na PALIPEHUTU?

Nda : PALIPEHUTU ni ishyamba ritaremerwa; nta mubano rero uwo ariwo wose ngomba kugirana naryo. Uretse ko ntakwiragazira ko bamwe mu bayoboke baryo bashyigikiye FRODEBU. Kandi rero ibintu byageze iwa Ndabaga dushobora kuryiyambaza mu guhangana n'abagitsimbaraye ku bitekerezwa bya gututsi.

Nde : Naho se igihugu cy'u Rwanda n'ibibazo gifite?

Nda : U Rwanda ni igihugu nzi neza

kandi nkunda kuko nakibayemo igihe kirekire. Niyo mpamvu nzihatira kunoza umubano mwiza hagati y'ibihugu byacu byombi. Nzagerageza gufasha abanyarwanda kugera ku mahoro nyakuri binyuze mu nzira z'irishyikirano kuko natwe hano i Burundi duhangayikishijwe n'ibibera mu Rwanda, kuko bifite ingaruka mbi ku mutekano no ku bukungu. Gusa aho bikomereye ni uko FPR yo ishaka gufata ubutegetsi ku ngufu z'amasasu. Nayo ni ukuzagerageza kuyumvisha ukuri, byananirana abahutu bese bagashyira hamwe bagafata nabo intwari bakivuna umwanzi. Intambara mufite yo ni iy'anyoko, abazanamo ibibazo bya politiki bidasobanutse baba bajijisha.

Nde : Abahutu bese nyine muzafatanyaga gute?

Nda : Ubundi jyewe sinshyigikiye irondakoko. Ndi Perezida w'abarundi bese abahutu, abatwa n'abatutsi.

Nubwo rero amateka y'u Rwanda n'u Burundi yanzwe n'amakimbarane hagati y'amoko, niye uzakora ibishoboka byose kugira ngo habe ubusabane mu barundi bese icyo baricyo cyose nta vangura. Nziko mu batutsi hakirimo abadashaka ko ibintu bihinduka ndetse biteguye gushoza intambara kugira ngo buanganire FPR mu gushaka kwigarurira akarere dutuyemo ariko abahutu nibabamaso bakirinda amacakubiri hagati yabo ubwabo bazaburizamo uwo mugambi mubi. Kumvikanisha amoko jye nibyo nimirije imbere.

Nde : Amahanga yo se muzakorana gute ko ubusanze ashigikira ubutegetsi bwa gututsi; nk'ubu abatutsi batangiye kuguharabikisha hirya no hino.

Nda : U Burundi bukeneye inkuriga







rundi bese, nirinda ikintu cyose cyazana amacakubiri kandi nzashimangira ubutabera kuri bese.

Mu bihugu duturanye naho ni ibicika. Nko mu Rwanda umutekano uracyari kure n'ukwezi kubera FPR ikomeje kuwuhungabanya ikoresheje n'ibitso byayo. Muri Zaire ntakigenda ni mu mvururu nsa, muri Uganda ni ikirunga gitutumba.

Leta yanyije izajya ibanza gusese ngura neza impamvu nyazo z'iyi midugararo kuko kwirengagiza ukuri aribyo bikurura intambara z'urudaca. Nzurwisha abarebwa n'ibyo bibazo ko imishyikirano no gushyira mu gaciro aribyo by'ingenzi.

Ndashaka ko u Burundi buzaba umuhuza uboneye wabazaba bashyamiyanye bese.

Nde : Sinzi niba ari urwenya ariko ngo abahutu bo mu Rwanda basigaye bavuye ko nabo babonye aho bazajya bahungira kuko u Burundi bugiye gutegekwa n'abahutu...

Nda : Utarakomeza mbanje kukukenyesha ko u Burundi butazategukwa n'ubwoko ubu n'ubu; ibyo nibyo FRODEBU yanze. Igihugu ni icy'abarundi bese, bagomba gusangira ibyiza n'ibibi byacyo byose. Naho iby'abateganya guhunga byo ntibihwitse kuko ari ntawe uburukanye. Kandi simpamya ko ziriya nkotanyi batinye zishyigikiye na Museveni wenyine n'abanyarwanda batageze kuri 10% by'abaturage bese zifite ingufu zo kwigarurira u Rwanda no kugira umuhutu ingaruzwamuheto. Abafite ubwoba bakwiye ahubwo gufata imigambi ihamye yo kwirwanaho mu gihe cyose bibaye ngombwa.

Nda : Petero BUYOYA ni umurundi nk'abandi, nashaka azasubire mu gisirikare cye cyangwa ahabwe akazi mu gisivili. icyakora nyine agomba guhabwa icyubahiro cyose gikwiye uwahoze ari umukuru w'igihugu; kandi nubwo nawe yagize uruhare mu iyicwa ry'abahutu nibura yemeye ko haba amatora ari nayo yamuhiritse atabikekaga.

Erega ntabwo abarundi banze BUYOYA ku giti cye ahubwo bari bafite inyota yo kwipakurura ubutegetsi bwa UPRONA n'ibya-

yo byose. BUYOYA agomba kuza bona umwanya ukomeye ndetse azihitiramo.

Nde : Naho se Minisitiri w'intebe SIBOMANA ?

Nda : Uwo nawe azafatwa nk'umurundi wese; azashyirwa mu mwanya uzaboneka kimwe n'abandi bese bari mu butegetsi bwo hejuru. Bamwe ndetse bazahabwa imyanya ikomeye kurusha iyo bari basanganywe.

Nde : BAGAZA se agarutse wamwamwira ?

Nda : BAGAZA ashatse guhunguka sinamubuza narindi atari jye wamukuye ku butware. icyakora nyine niba hari ibyaha yakoreye igihugu bigishobora gukurikiranwa yabibazwa.

Nde : Abagifungirwe ibya politiki bo ntuziga ibyabo ?

Nda : Ndumva nta barundi benshi bafungirwe politiki; tuzareba buri dosiye ku buryo ariko ubutegetsi nyubahiriza-tegeko bwirinda kwivanga mu kazi k'ubucamanza. Ubwigenge bwa buri rwego rugomba kubahirizwa.

Nde : Ubu rero wamaze gukora lisiti y'abantu uzashyira mu myanya ikomeye y'ubutegetsi !

Nda : icyo kibazo sindagitekereza ho. icyangombwa kwari ugusezere ubutegetsi bwari bwaramunze igihugu. Naho ibyo kugabagabana ubutware ntibyigeze binshishikaza. Birumvikana ariko ko abamfashije kugera ku butegetsi n'abo duhuje amatwara ya politiki ntazabatererana. Gusa ruzareba mbere na mbere ubushobozi bwa buri wese. Ntabwo tekini izaganzwa na politiki. Nta nubwo nzakoresha iringaniza nk'uko iwanyu mubigenza.

Nde : Nyakubahwa perezida, ikibazo cy'impunzi z'abarundi banyarwagiye mu bihugu by'amahanga

uzagikemura ute ?

Nda : Ubundi hari impamvu zatumye bahungira; iya mbere akaba ari ubutegetsi bw'abatutsi bicaga abahutu urubozo kugira ngo batazabakura ku ngoma.

Mu gihe rero izo mpamvu zitakiriho simbana icyababuze gutaha no gusubira mu byabo mu mahoro no mu bwubahane. Ahubwo u Burundi bwagize amahirwe adasanze kuko abo bantu bari kuzageraho bagashakaga gutahuka ku ngufu nk'uko inyenzi - inkotanyi z'iwanyu zabigenje maze hagacura imiborogo. icyakora basabwe kudahubukira iryo tahuka kuko abo bahungaga bagifite imubda n'amasasu bihariye bonyine.

Kandi rero niba aho bari bamerewe neza, nta nyungu baba bafite yo kuza kubura akazi n'aho batura no kurya ubusa hano i Burundi.

Nde : Ijambo rya nyuma nyakubahwa perezida wa Repubulika !

Nda : Ndashimira ikinyamakuru cyanyu KANGURA n'umuyoboz wacyo NGEZE Hassani kuko cyagize uruhare rutihishira mu gutembagaza ingoma y'akoko gakoresha igitugu, ikinyoma n'ubwicanyo hano i Burundi. KANGURA yadufashije rwose kurwana intambara ya demokarasi none turi hafi gutsinda burundu.

Kangura yashituye rubanda yose y'abarundi ku buryo aricyo kinyamakuru gisomwa kurusha n'ibya ndikirwa i Bujumbura. Nyifurije ishya n'ihirwe n'akazi keza.

NDEKEZI Bonaparte.

MWITONDERE IBIGAMBO BIRIMO BIKWIZWA N'IBYITSO BIRI MURI M.R.N.D. NGO KANGURA YAGUZWE N'INKOTANYI MU BYAMAGANIRE KURE. MUBIBAZE IBIMENYETSO.



## UBUBILIGI MU MAREMBERA...

Abantu banyarukiye mu Burayi cyangwa se babayeyo igihe kirekire, bemeza ko mu banyaburayi bose ababiligi bakiri inyuma muri byose. Yego iyo ugereranije n'ibindi bihugu byo mu yindi migabane y'isi, cyane cyane iby'Afurika ikennye, usanga ububiligi bwitwa ko bwateye imbere mu majyambere. Ni mu majyambere y'inganda gusa nayo bukesha zahabu na diama n'andi mabuye y'agaciro bwashuye Zayire, tutibagiwe n'uduke u Rwanda n'u Burundi byari bifite. Dore ko ababiligi aribo bakolonije aka karere dutuyemo (Kongo mbirigi na Ruanda-Urundi).

Ababiligi mu bitekerezo baracyari yuma. Babagereranya n'abatwa. Ibibazo byinshi Afurika yo hagati bwahozze bukoloniza cyane cyane u Rwanda n'u Burundi bituruka ku Bubiligi. Twavugaga nk'intambara z'amoko, ruswa, gusahura umutungo w'igihugu, gusondeka imishinga, gukoresha ikimenyimenyi n'ibindi...

Ababiligi ni bagashakabuhake koko! Imyaka 48 bamaze mu Rwanda no mu Burundi, n'indi irenga bamaze basahura Zayire, yatubereye imfabusa ari ku banyarwanda, ku barundi no ku bazayirurwa. Muri icyo myaka yose, ababiligi ntacyo bakoze kigaragara uretse gusahura byo bihugu no kwiriza rubanda ku kiboko n'ishiku. Iyo urebye ibindi bihugu by'Afurika amajyambere ahari, usanga ari ayo abazungu babasigiyeye, nabo bakiyongeraho akabo. Twavugaga imihanga myiza, amavuriro, imigi yubatse neza, amashuri, za Kaminuza, gutoza abantu demokarasi...

Hari abanyarwanda n'ya numva bivugira ko byari kuba byiza iyo abadagi bigumira ino aha. Nyamara ni byo. Abadagi ni abakozi, kandi imishinga badufashamo irabigaragaza kuko iri mu mishinga igenda neza mu Rwanda. Ntumbaze icy'ababiligi! Abadagi ni abantu bahora bifuzaga ku uwo bari kumwe ahora atera imbere kandi nta nyungu barnu baza. Si amakabyankuru.

Intambara ya mbere y'isi itaratangira, abadagi niba bari bashin-

nzwe aka karere. U Rwanda rwari kimwe n'u Burundi mu ntara ngari y'Abadagi y'Afurika y'i burasirazuba, intara yari irimo na Tanganyika, ariyo Tanzaniya y'ubu. Abadagi bari bafite umushinga wo kubaka umuhanda wa gari ya moshi. Uwo muhanda bari babatije «Umuhanza Cap-Le Caire» wari guturuka muri Afurika y'epfo (mu mugwi wa Cap) ukagera mu Misiri (i Kayiro).

Uwo muhanda wari kunyura no mu Rwanda mu gace ka Gisaka ubu kagizwe na Perefegitura ya Kibungo n'agace kamwe ka Byumba. Ababiligi bageze ino sibwo bawuburiyemo. None u Rwanda n'u Burundi bukababurirwa mu bihugu bike bisigaye ku isi bitagira gari ya moshi. Tugomba kuba ari twe twenyine tutayifite ku isi, byose bitewe n'ababiligi. Ababiligi ni abantu bakunda inyungu zabo gusa. Mu Rwanda no mu Burundi kubona nta kintu cy'amajyambere bahasize ni uko nta nyungu bari bahafite. Igihugu twavugaga ko bapfuye kwitaho ni Zayire ariko nayo si urundi rukundo. icyo gihugu nicyo cyatumye ububiligi bwegura umutwe kubera ubukungu (amabuye y'agaciro cyane cyane), bwashoboye gusahura na n'ubu bugisahura.

Ababiligi ni abantu bitwara nka gashaka buhake bo muri Afurika y'epfo. Ababiligi ni ba bantu bazi ko umwirabura ari nk'inguge ariko cyane cyane umuhutu. Ngo ntacyo ashobora kumenya. Amagambo batukaga abahutu na n'ubu ba kibatuka arabyerekana bihagije. Twavugaga nka «homme singe» (umusenzi),

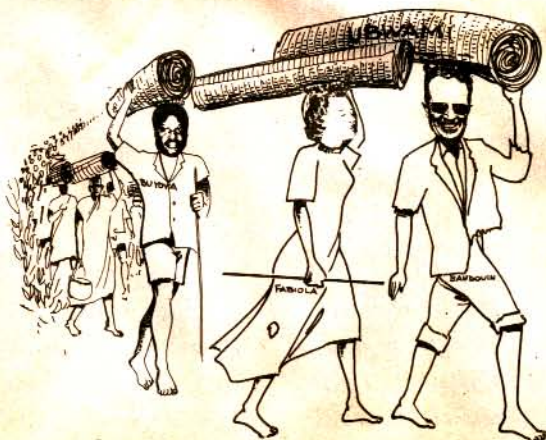
«sale gamin» (isariqoma), «sale nègre» n'andi ateye isoni...

Biratangaje kubona igihe Zayire ibona ubwigenge mu w'1960, nta bantu bize Kaminuza barenze 30 yari ifite? U Rwanda n'u Burundi twe kwirirwa tubivugaga kuko nta kaminuza byagiraga. Kandi ababiligi babikoraga ku bushake ngo tuzahore tubakenere.

Ababiligi bakomeje kutubanira nabi. Twabonye ububi bwabo cyane cyane umunsi inyenzi, bene wabo, zigabye igitero tariki ya mbere Ukwakira 1990 bakatwima amasasu twari twarishye. Na nyuma y'aho bakomeje kutwereka ko bifatanije n'umwanzi. Ku buryo ibibi byose bivuzwe ku Rwanda niyo byaba ari ibinyoma byakirwa nk'«ivanjiri ntatifu», iyo mu Bubiligi. Abategetsi bose b'icyo gihugu gikomeje gutsimbarara ku bwami, ni ibyitso by'inkotanyi. Nibo bahora biyenza ku Rwanda ngo bagiye kugabanya imfashanyo bageneraga u Rwanda. U Rwanda nirwo rutubahiriza ikiremwamuntu, nirwo ruvugurura amoko, uturere, amadini, n'ibindi bicumuro nk'ibya Shitani. Nyamara abababari inyuma y'ibyo byose, turabizi. Ni abazungu batunze ibizungereze by'abatutsikazi.

Bavugaga ko umuntu ahitamo inshuti adahitamo abaturanyi. Ababiligi ntiduhana imbibi, ubucuti bwabo nabwo twarabubonye. Nibazinge rero uturago hakiri kare, bajyane n'inshoreke z'abatutsi. Tuzirwanaho...

KANGURA.





# Ibaruwa NGEZE Hassan yandikiye Cdt BIZIMANA.

NGEZE Hassan

Directeur du Journal KANGURA

C/O Gisenyi Information

B.P. 1312 Kigali

Kigali, le 10/06/1993

Bwana BIZIMANA André,

Commandant wa Groupement  
Gisenyi,

Impamvu : Gusaba kwitoza amatawara ya demokarasi

Bwana Commandant,

Ubwanditsi bwa Kangura, bu-ragira ngo bubagezeho uko bubona ibintu bikorerwa ku Gisenyi, umugi uvukamo abanyamakuru ba Kangura, akaba ari naho bakorera (Gisenyi-Info). Muzi ko mukimara ku-gera ku Gisenyi, hari igihe cy'ubute-getsu bw'ishyamba rimwe. Mwicaga u-ko mushatse, mukemeza abantu i-byaha mukoresheje impiri n'ibindi byose bijyana n'iterabwoba. Muri-buka ko mwoherejwe ku Gisenyi babahunza imiryango y'abanya Ki-gali yari igiye kugutsinda muri Kiga-li ibaziza ko mwabiciye abantu. A-bandu mukabamugaza ubwo mwa-koraga muri Fichier Central.

Ubwo bwicanyu ntimwigeze na ri-mwe mu bureka. N'ubwo mutiko-reye, mubukorerwa n'abantu mwa-tumye. Urugero ni abantu bapfuye mu ibanga batagira ingano bazize mwebwe. Nk'umuzayirurwa Ka-yitenga na n'ubu dosiye ye igikuru-rana mu nkiko z'u Rwanda kandi koko yarabuze mu buryo budafu-tutse. Mwibuka ko umunsi Gisenyi isahurwa mwabigizemo uruhari ru-komeye ari naho mwavanye irya nzu iri ku musozi wa Rubavu. Ibyo byose, twarabibonaga usibye ko twicecekeraga. Mwibuka ko mu kigera ku Gisenyi, mwarushijeho gukoresha iterabwoba. Maze mwa-mbura ababyeyi bacu uburenga-nzira bwo gucuruza ibishyamba byavaga kuri Goma. Maze ubwo bucuruzi murabwiharira biratinda. Abaturage babatangiyeye amaraporo ku nzego zibashinzwe, maze muka-zihuma amaso mukoresheje ama-yeri yanyu. Bityo barabareka mu-kora ibyo mwishakiye byose. Mwi-buka ukuntu abategarugori bose, abana, ababyeyi n'abakecuru biko-ze bagakora imyigaragambyo yo ku-

bamagana. Babanengaga ubwo busa-hiranda bwanyu. Muribuka ko na-njye ubwanjye nahageze mu rwego rw'itangaza makuru gukurikiranira hafi ibyo bintu.

MWABIGENJE MUTE RERO.

Mumaze kubona ko ibikorwa byanyu byose twabitahuye, mwi-hutiye kudukomatanyiriza maze mu-kwiza ibihuha mu nzego zo hejuru. Kubera ubwenge bucye mukemeza ko mufite ibimenyetso bigaragara ko Kangura ikorana n'inyenzi. Izo telegaramu zose mwamaraga kuzo-hera tugahita tuzibona kubera ko mwazikoranaga n'ibitso byacu bi-baba iruhande. Twabamenyesha ko telegaramu zose mwohereje ubu-tuzifite uko zakabaye. Zose hamwe ni 23 hakubiyemo n'andi ma raporo yamahimbano. Ese mwaba mwibu-ka telegaramu ya nyuma mwasaba-ga ko tubuzwa kwinjira mu bigo byose bya gisirikari? Ese mwabisa-bye muzi ko ubusanzwe tubyemere-we?



Ese aho mwaba mwibuka inama iherutse guteranira aho mu kigo i-yobowe na Bahufite, mugatangaza ko Ngeze Hassan afite umutwe ugu-ra intwari zo kurwanya inyenzi u-munsi zatashye. Bahufite yabasabye ibimenyetso murabibura ahubwo a-babuza gukomeza kugendera ku bi-gambo gusa. Ko icyangombwa ari i-bimenyetso bifatika.

Ibyo tubireke tubibarize. Aho mwa-ba muzi ko umugore wanyu anketi zigenda zigaragaza ko ashobora ku-ba ari umwe mu batega biriya bisa-su? Ese aho murabizi? Ese mwaba mwarumvise ibyo Minisitiri w'inga-bo yabivuzeho? Ese noneho ko

mudaheruka kwohereza izindi tele-garamu ra! Ni uko mwasanze babi-ta indondogozi. Ese mwibuka tele-garamu mwakoze ubwo mwambu-zaga kujya kureba amarorerwa mu-kora mugurisha amatafari. Ese mwahisemo kwibera abatekamutwe ko ari wo ubakwiye. Ngaho muri mu bishyamba, muri mu matafari, muri kwambutsa amamodoka... Ese ya kamyo yanyu ifite plaques zo muri Zayire isorerwa na nde ra? Yewe ibibavugwaho nta wabona a-ho abyandika. Gusa kubasaba ibi bi-kurikira.

— Kutazongera gukora telegaramu z'impimbano mudafitiye ibime-nyetso kuko inzego zibashinzwe zabatahuye kandi zikabimenye-sha.

— Kudahutaza abazakora imyigara-gambyo yo kubamagana bagara-gaza icyo babatekerezaho dore ko mumaze gutera iseseme ku Gi-senyi.

— Kwegera abanyamakuru ba Ka-ngura mukabasobanurira ibyo byose bibavugwaho maze natwe tukabigeza ku banyarwanda.

— Guhagarika iterabwoba ryanyu mu batuye ku Gisenyi bose bya-ba ngombwa mugasaba imbabazi mu bo mwakoreye ayo marore-rwa.

— Guha indishyi z'akababaro umu-ryango wa Sekidende mwivugaye kuri wa munsi wisahura.

— Gusubiza ibintu byose mwasa-huye cyangwa mwabonye ku-buryo bwa ruswa.

— Ku byerekeranye n'itangazama-kuru, twabibutsa ibi bikurikira:

— Gusubiza ibyabavuzweho

— Kurega iyo mubabaye

— Guceceka iyo mudashaka gu-tamazwa

— Gushinga ikinyamakuru cya-nyu kizajya kibavugira (gihi-shira amarorerwa yanyu)

— Kurekera by'umwihariko Ngeze Hassan n'umuryango we amahoro kuko akazi k'abahu-tu washinzwe tutigeze tugate-zukaho.

NGEZE Hassan.



# GISENYI: Nyuma y'imyigaragambyo y'abagore harakorwa indi y'injyanamuntu.

Abaturage basahuwe mu karere ka Gisenyi

Gisenyi, le 10/6/1993

Impamvu: Gusaba uburenganzira bwo kugara-gaza akababaro kaku.

Bwana Perefe,

Twebwe abaturage batuye ku Gisenyi, tubandikiye tubasaba uburenganzira bwo gukora imyigaragambyo y'amahoro. Iyo myigaragambyo tukaba twifuzaga kuyikora ku yumweru tariki ya 27/6/1993.

Impamvu zitumye twifuzaga iyo myigaragambyo ziragaragara usibye ko dusanze tugomba kwongera kuzisubiramo.

Izo mpamvu ni izi:

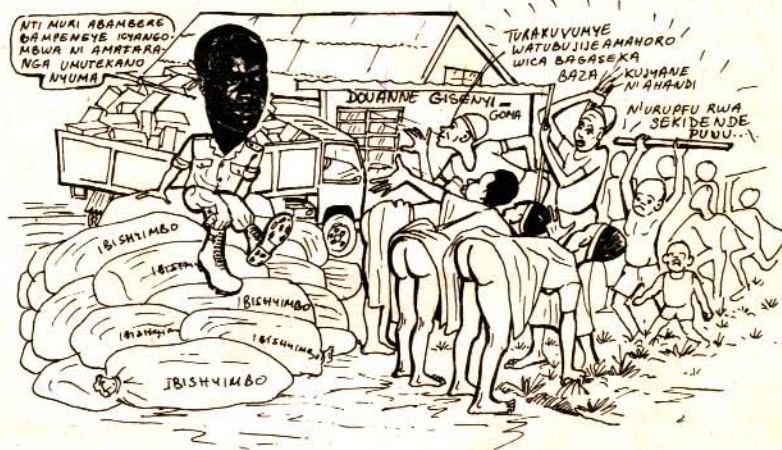
Muribuka ko umwaka ushize habaye ubusahuzi n'ubwicanyi. Inzego z'ubutegetsi zaje gusobanurira abaturage ko abo basahuye ku Gisenyi baza bagashyikirizwa ubucamanza. Ku byerekeye abacuruzi basahuwe. Leta yari yemeye ko igomba kubafasha ibaha imfashanyo y'amabanki. Ibyo byose twanzwe Leta ari kutubeshya kuko ruva twakwibwaga nta kintu na kimwe cyigeze gikorwa. Tukaba dusanga ibyo bintu tutakomeza kubiceceka kandi dufite inzira zemewe na demokrasi tugomba kunyuramo.

Mu busahuzi bwabaye ku Gisenyi, hapfuyemo abantu batari bake. Abanyeshuri, abaturage b'inzirakarengane bagiye baterwa amagrenade. Kuri icyo kibazo Leta yari yemeye guhagarika ku kazi ababigizemo uruhari, cyane cyane abari bashinzwe kubungabunga umutekano w'abaturage. Aha uwavugwaga cyane ni Komanda Bizimana André wayoboraga ikigo cy'abajandarume, maze akamenya ko isahura riraba, ntaturire abo ashinzwe kurinda. Ahubwo - ka uwa mbere mu gashura no kwica. Ibimenyetso bigaragara kuri we

byaratanzwe ariko inzego zimushinzwe zaricecekeye. Nk'urupfu rwa Sekidende wishwe na Bizimana amuziza ko yamumenye. Nk'ibikorwaho by'ubwubatsi byasahuwe mu maduka y'abacuruzi.

ngwa n'iterabwoba bazaba batangiwe ibimenyetso muri iyo myigaragambyo.

Leta nitwima uruhusa rwo gukora iyo myigaragambyo, tuzayikoresha ku yindi tariki, kandi tuyiko-



None ibyo byasahuwe akaba aribyobujuje inzu ya Bizimana ku Gisenyi. Kuri icyo kibazo kandi hatanzwe ingero zigaragara kandi zumvikana. Kuko ufashe umushahara wa Komanda Bizimana ukawukuba n'inyaka amaze avutse, ntihavamo amafaranga yakubaka iyo nzu. Kuba abaturage batuye ku Gisenyi tumaze imyaka irenga itanu dutegukwa nk'inyamaswa, gukubitwa n'ibindi bijyana n'iterabwoba, tutibagiwe na za ruswa. Ibyo byose turifuza kuzagaragaza icyo tubitekerezaho muri iyo myigaragambyo. Imyigaragambyo yacu izahuza abana, abasore, abasaza, abakecuru mbese abantu basizwe iheruheru nabo twavuze haruguru.

Muri iyo myigaragambyo tuzasaba ibi bikurikira:

- kuriha abantu bose basahuwe
- Leta gutanga impozamarira ku miryango yiciwe abantu muri iryo sahura
- guha abacuruzi ibyo Leta yari yarabemereye. Kubariha ibyo bibwe, no kubaguriza mu mabanki nkuko Leta yari yabibemereye.
- guhita bashyikiriza inkiko abo bicanyi barimo Komanda Bizimana André
- kwimura abategetsi bose bara-

re ku ngufu z'abaturage. Leta ishobora kwiga ibi bibazo mu nama ya perefegitura ishinze umutekano. Bityo tukazakora iyo myigaragambyo y'amahoro nayo ibyiteguye. Byaba ngombwa, Perefe agakoresha inama y'abaturage yakwemera ko ibyo bibazo yabibonera umuti uko bingana kandi mu gihe cya vuba, tukaba tuyisubitse. Duhaye inzego zose z'ubutegetsi kopi kugira ngo ikurikiranire hafi ibyo bibazo.

Kubera ko Komanda Bizimana yashyizeho ineko ze ngo zimenye abazitabira iriya myigaragambyo dusanze tutashyira amazina twese kuri uru rwandiko. None duhisemo ko Ngeze Hassan ari we warusinya. Kandi ibisubizirako akaba ariwe biza- caho.

NGEZE Hassan

Bimenyeshyewe:

- Perezida wa Repubulika
- Minisitiri w'Intebe
- Minisitiri w'Ubutegetsi bw'I-gihugu
- Procureur wa Repubulika, Parquet ya Gisenyi
- Bourgmestre wa komini Rubavu
- Abazitabira imyigaragambyo bose.



**GISENYI : IBISASU BYAFATA-  
NYWE BUCYANA NGO UMUGO-  
RE WA COMMANDANT BIZIMA-  
NA ABIFITEMO URUHARE.**

Iminsi y'igisambo iragenda isanga umubare wayo. Ubwo KANGURA No43 yari imaze gusohoka, twabagejejeho ukuntu umugore wa Bizimana avugwa cyane mu bataga ibisasu ku Gisenyi, cyangwa mu babyinjiza mu gihugu. Igihe twarimo gutunganya anketi neza ngo tumenye ukuri kubimuvugwaho, dore ko Gisenyi yose yamuciyeye mu mugu, tubonye amakuru noneho amuhamya icyaha.

Ayo makuru niyo atumye tumenya impamvu nta duka ashobora gukandagiramo ku Gisenyi, cyangwa ngo agire urugo yakwakirwamo, uretse ku batutsi bene wabo gusa. Umunyamakuru wacu yaje kuvugana n'umugore wa Commandant Bizimana kuri telefoni, amubaza icyo abitekerezaho. Aho gusubiza ku byari byanditswe, we asubiza ko abanyarwanda bamwanga.

Ari nabwo bamugeretseho biriya bisasu byafatiwe kwa Bucyana. Umunyamakuru wacu yahise yumirwa. Dore ko nawe yari ataramenya ko hari ibindi bisasu byafatiwe ku Gisenyi.

Ubwo yahise amubaza aho ibyo bisasu biherereye, umugore wa Commandant Bizimana amubabwira aho ibyo bisasu biherereye, umugore wa Commandant Bizimana amubabwira arira avuga ko ibyo bisasu byabazwa umugabo Bucyana ngo kuko ari nawe abapolisi bagiye gusaka. Ubwo ahita akubita telefoni hasi. Nibwo umunyamakuru wacu agiye mu ibreshi abonana n'umupolisi wari uvuye ku Kibuye aje akurikiye iryo shyamba. Umupolisi avuga ko bamubwiye ko ibyo bisasu byajye kwa Bucyana maze nawe akabijyana muri Zayire, abifashijwemo n'umugore wa Korna-

nda Bizimana.

Nguko uko inkuru iteye kugeza magingo aya. Turacyakora ipereza ku buryo bunononsoye. Ubwo bizahama tuzamutangaza. N'ubwo umwere nawe tuzamuhanaguraho ubwo busembwa. Gusa icyo umuntu yakwibaza ni iki : Ibikarito byuzuye za rine, uwo mututsi yabivanaga he ? Yari abijyanye he ? Umugore wa komanda Bizimana abyambutsa muri Zayire abijyana kwa nde ? Yego umugabo we arazwi ko ku ifaranga yakwerneru n'umugi ukarimbuka. Ariko se twahangana tugeze ryari ? Inzego z'umutekano nazo zarahagurutse ngo zirebe icyo ibyo bintu bihatse. Ntibizababwira bya bindi Minisitiri w'ingabo yategetse komanda Bizimana ko arekura abafashwe. Birababwira ibyuma ntibibabwira amaraso !

## FPR : UBUTEGETSI MBERE YA BYOSE

Intiti zigize rya huriro riharanira amahoro na Demokarasi (Forum Paix et Démocratie) zikomeje kwandikira KANGURA. Abo banyabwenge batanga ibitekerezo byabo ari nawo musanzu baha igihugu cyacu kugirango cyivane mu bibazo bikizitirye. Muri KANGURA N° 42 twabagejejeho inyandiko ya Nyakwigendera Gabyisi Emmanuel (Imana imuhe iruhuko ridashira) aho yagiraga ati : «Hapfa uwavutse». Iyo ntwari yamaganaga ubutegetsi bw'igitugu ubwo ari bwo bwose, aho bwaturuka hose. Bwaba ubwa Habyarimana cyangwa se ubwa FPR-Inkotanyi. Inyenzu zahise zimwivugana kubera ko yaburiraga abanyarwanda ibyago bibategereje. Muri Kangura n° 43 tubagezaho inyandiko twohererejwe na Mbonampeka Stanislas adutungira agatoki atwereka ububi bw'umwanzu w'abanyarwanda ari we FPR. Inyenzu nizo zikomeje kudindiza demokarasi abanyarwanda baharaniye, zibashora mu ntambara igiye kubarimbura. Intambara ntijyana na demokarasi kandi ntawe usimbuza igitugu ikindi gitugu.

Muri iyi nimero ya 44, turabageza-

ho inyandiko twohererejwe n'indi ntiti yo muri iryo huriro. Iyo nyandiko ni iya Dr Karinganire Joseph ufite impamyabushobozi y'ikirenga (Doctorat) muri «Philosophie», akaba umwarimu muri Kaminuza y'u Rwanda.

Uwo mubanyabwenge arerekana abanyarwanda icyo inyenzu zigamije mu byukuri. Zirashaka ubutegetsi, ibindi ni amagambo, Mwisomere na mwe.

KANGURA

### FPR IKOMEJE KUYOBYA UBURARI

Kuva abanyarwanda basezererangoma ya cyami, hagashingwa Repubulika, abatutsi ntiibigeze bemera icyo cyemezo cy'ubwamba kidakuka. Bagejwe buri gihe kongera kwisubiza ubutegetsi bwabaciye mu myanya y'intoki. Ari nacyo gisobanura ibitero abatutsi bagabye mu Rwanda kuva Repubulika igishingwa kugeza magingo aya. Naho ureke ibyo abo abatutsi bagiye babeshya ngo bararwanira uburenganzira bwabo bwo kugaruka mu gihugu cyabibabwirako. Ni ryari ubutegetsi ba Repubulika bigeze banga ko impunzi z'abatutsi zatahuka dore ko nabo ar abana b'u Rwanda ?

Repubulika y'u Rwanda igishingwa muri za 60, Guverinoma y'u Rwanda ntiyigeze yirengagiza ikibazo cy'im-punzi z'abatutsi. Umugabo twatanga ni ijamba Nyakwigendera Gerigori Kayibanda yavuze tariki ya 16 Werurwe 1962. Icyo gihe umukuru w'igihugu yamenyesheje u Rwanda n'amahanga ko Guverinoma y'u Rwanda yari yemereye Kigeri wa V Ndahindurwa, kimwe n'abandi batutsi bahunganye, gutahuka bagafatanyaga n'abandi banyarwanda kuzamura igihugu.

Icyo Guverinoma y'u Rwanda yasabaga abo batutsi ni ukuvugisha ukuri, bakubakira Repubulika yari yashyizweho na rubanda nyamwinshi, bakerekana ko bafite ubushake bwo kubakira u Rwanda rwigenda muri demokarasi.

Nyamara abo batutsi bakomeje kuvunira ibiti mu matwi. Ahubwo bahisemo kugaba ibitero hirya no hino ku mipaka y'igihugu bagamije gusibanganya ibyiza bya revolisiyo ya rubanda yo muri 1959.

Nibwo abatutsi biyise inyenzu bagabye igitero mu Bugesera tariki ya 20 Uku-boza 1963, bagaba ikindi gitero ku Gi-



senyi no mu Ruhengeri tariki ya 4 Nyakanga 1962 n'ikindi gitero mu burasirazuba no mu majyaruguru y'u Rwanda tariki ya 17 Nyakanga 1962.

Ibyo bitero ntibyacyiye intege abategetsi ba Repubulika. Ni muri urwo rwego Perezida wa Repubulika Geregory Kayibanda yongeye gusaba bundi bushya impunzi z'abatutsi gushyira mu gaciro bagafasha hasi intwari. Yongera gusaba izo mpunzi gutahuka mu mahoro tariki ya 11 Werurwe 1964. Kwinginga abatutsi gutahuka, byabaye nko gutahura inyuma ya Huye. Kuko bo bakomeje ibitero byabo kugeza mu mwaka w'1967.

Na Repubulika ya kabiri nayo ya-  
koze uko ishoboye ngo impunzi z'aba-  
tutsi zigaruke mu gihugu. Habyarima-  
na amaze umwaka umwe ku butegetsi  
(1974) hashyizweho komisiyo yari  
muriweho n'u Rwanda na Uganda yari  
ishinzwe kureba ukuntu impunzi  
z'abanyarwanda zatahuka. Iyo komi-  
siyo yari guterana kuva tariki ya 21 ku-  
geza 28 Nyakanga 1974 i Kampala ari-  
ko ntibyashoboka kubera umutekano  
muke warangwaga muri icyo gihugu.  
Ntibyahereye aho kuko muri Gashyan-  
tare 1988 hashyizweho komite yo mu  
rwego rwa minisiteri u Rwanda ruhu-  
riyeho na Uganda yari ishinze kubo-  
nera umuti icyo kibazo. N'igihe inyenzi  
zitera tariki ya 1 Ukwakira 1990 hariho  
komisiyo yari ishinze gusuzuma icyo  
kibazo, inyenzi zitera iri hafi kugikemu-  
ra burundu. Biragaragara ko ikibazo  
cy'impunzi z'abanyarwanda ubute-  
getsi bwo mu Rwanda butigeze buki-  
yengagiza. Ikitumvikana ni ukuntu  
FPR yarenze kuri ibyo byose ikagaba  
igitero, igashoza intambara mu Rwan-  
da. Igisubizo umuntu yabona ni kimwe  
gusa. Abatutsi bibumbiye muri FPR  
batsimbaraye ku mugambi wabo wo  
kwisubiza ku ngufu ubutegetsi bam-  
buwe na revolisiyo ya rubanda.

FPR IBESHYA KO IHARANIRA  
DEMOKARASI....

Inyenzi zagabye igitero mu Rwanda tariki ya 1/10/1990 zibeshya ko ziharanira demokarasi. Nyamara urworo rwari urwitwazo. Kuko demokarasi bivugwa ubutegetsi bw'abaturage, butangwa n'abaturage, bukorera abaturage. None se ubwo butegetsi buhuriye he n'ubutegetsi bw'imbunda, ubwicanyi bugamije kurimbura abo batwaga no kubavana mu byabo ?

FPR cyokora yashoboye kwifatira amahanga yemera icyo kinyoma ari nako ikomeje gusebya Guverinoma y'u Rwanda. Kuri icyo ngingo ya nyuma

FPR yitwaje ya ngirwa raporo bagas-  
haka buhake b'ababiligi baherutse gu-  
kora ku Rwanda, iger aho yumvisha  
amahanga cyane cyane ibihugu bidu-  
tera inkunga kuyihagarika. Ibyo bihu-  
gu nabyo bigwa gutyo mu mutego  
w'umwanzi. Dore ko byiteguye gufun-  
ga imfashanyo byageneraga u Rwan-  
da kubera amakosa y'ubutegetsi bwa  
Habyarimana FPR iharaho ikifatira  
amahanga. Umuturage hari uruhare  
abifite mo ?

FPR IRASHAKA UBUTEGETSI  
BYANZE BIKUNZE

Amateka y'u Rwanda atubwira ko mu mwaka w'1959 ari bwo habaye revolisiyo ya rubanda. Iyo revolisiyo ya sezereye ingoma ya cyami na gihake yari imaze imyaka irenga 400. Abatutsi rero ntibigeze bemera ibyabaye, bakababwira hadakozwe ihinduka ry'ibintu, cyangwa se gusangira ubutegets. Nicyo cyatumye bafata iy'ubuhungiro, bidatinze bafata intwari bashakira kwi-subiza ubutegets bwabacitse bakibukeneye. Mu mwaka umwe gusa (1961—1962), abo batutsi bari bama-zwe kugaba ibitero 36 byose. Ayo mateka niyo aduha isura nyayo ya FPR.

**Burya inyenzi zirimo iibice bitatu:**

Igice cya mbere kigizwe n'abatut-  
si bahisemo guhunga igihugu cyabo  
n'ubwo bwose hari bene wabo bagu-  
mye mu Rwanda, bakabana n'abandi  
banyarwanda muri repubulika na de-  
mokarasi. Inyenzi ziri muri icyo gice ni  
ba batutsi bahisemo guhunga, batazi-  
ze ubututsi bwabo. Ahubwo ari uko  
banze kugaruka mu gihugu ku busha-  
ke ngo bavugishe ukuri, bayoboke re-  
pubulika. Ahubwo bo bahisemo kuza-  
za gufata ubutegetsi ku ngufu bako-  
resheje intwari.

Igice cya kabiri cy'inenzi kigizwe n'abantu bashakira kwikubira ubutegetsi bonyine ari nako bafite inyota yabwo. Ni ba nta munoza bakaba n'in-

dashima. Muri icyo gice niho usanga abahutu. Ingero ni nyinshi Koloneri Alegesi Kanyarengwe, umukuru w'inyenzi, mbere y'uko ahunga yari minisitiri w'ubutegetsi bw'igihugu, akaba ari nawe wari ukurikiye General Habyarimana mu magarade ya gisirikari. Kanyarengwe niwe wenyine wasobanurira abanyarwanda n'amahanga icyatumye ahunga.

Muri icyi gihe cy'aba nta munoza niho dusanga Major Lizinde Tewonesiti. Uwo mugabo yari ashinzwe ibiro biku-ru byiperezera. Yaciriwe inshuro ebyiri urwo gupfa kubera umugambi we wo guhirika Habyarimana na kwica abanyapolitiki ba Repubulika ya mbere.

Igice cya gatatu cy'inyenzi kirimo abantu Habyarimana yari yararyoheje abegurira umutungo w'igihugu. Nta wamenya rero ukuntu baje kumvamamo. Harimo abacuruzi nka Valensi Kajeguhakwa, Silasi Majyambere, Rwigara Asinapol n'abandi bari barashoboye gucengera mu butegetsi bwa Habyarimana. Tutibagiwe na mwene wabo Pasteur Bizimungu, Habyarimana yari yareguriye Electrogaz, kimwe mu bigo bya Leta bikomeye.

Mu gihe Guverinoma y'u Rwanda ikibeshya ko imishyikirano ishobora kugarura amahoro, FPR yo sibyo irimo. N'ubwo bwose hari amasezerano yo guhagarika imirwano, FPR yo iracyayikomeza. Iragenda ifata igihugu buhoro buhoze kuko yo izi neza ko amasezerano atari ubwumvikane bwa burundu. Kandi ni byo. None se Museveni ntiyafashe Kampala hashize iminsi mike ashyize umukono ku masezerano y'amahoro ? Azapfa aburekuye ??

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NIYE BIZIMANA  
NAKWIRE IBIHUHA  
KO KANGURA IKORA  
NA N'INKOTANYI.  
NAGIRABA NGO  
ABAYIKUNDA BAYA  
NBE.

NAKORESHEJE  
IBAYITSO BYACU BIRI  
MU GIHUGU BISE  
BYA KANGURA NEO  
IRAVANGURA AMOKO  
KUGIRANGO ABAYIKI  
NDA BAYANGE.

INGOZI MUBURUNDI  
BAYUZE KO KANGURA  
ARI IKINYAMAKURU CY'INK  
OTANYI KANDI MFITE  
IBIMENYETSO. NARI  
NABIBWIWE NA COMMA-  
NDANT BIZIMANA ANDRE  
WARI UGAMIJE INYUNGU  
ZE BWITE.





## BURUNDI: NDADAYE atitonze yagwa muri système ya UPRONA. bigatuma PALIPEHUTU ikemura ibibazo ikoresheje intwaro.

Ngo ibijya gupfa bipfa mu itangi-ra. Umushingantahe NDADAYE Melchior amaze gutorerwa kuyobora u Burundi, abanyamakuru baramubajije bati mbese uratekereza iki ku ishyaka PALIPEHUTU? Asubiza ko Palipehutu igomba kuza gukora nk'andi mashyaka. Bamubajije ku kibazo cy'ingabo za Palipehutu, Melchior Ndadaye asubiza avuga ko izo ngabo atazizi. Ko n'iki-bazo cyazo u Burundi butakizi.

### Dore intambara ngo irarota.

Muri Kangura n° 42 twabagejeje- ho ukuntu Buyoya ategura imvururu amaze gutsindwa. Impamvu tubivuga ni uko twabibonaga dukoresheje isesengura rya politiki. Buyoya yaje gusanga ashoye imvururu ari we wazigwamo mbere. Noneho ahenda ubwenge uwamusimbuye amwumvisha ko ingabo za Palipehutu agomba kuzima amatwi, zigafatwa nk'aho zitabaho. Ngaho namwe mwibaza aho abo Bahutu b'i Burundi bavuye, aho bari n'aho berekeza mu gihe ingabo z'u Burundi zigizwe n'abatutsi b'i bwami mu rugero rwa 99 ku ijana. Ngo ibyabaye ku muturanyi bitanga isomo. Abatutsi bo mu Rwanda, mu masezerano bagiranye na Guverinoma Arusha basabye ko mw'igabana ry'ingabo, Guverinoma y'u Rwanda yatwara 60 ku ijana, naho abatutsi bibumbiye muri FPR, bakabona 40 ku ijana. Ibyo abatutsi ngo babisabaga bagira ngo baboreke.

Mu nzego zose, abatutsi barashakaga gucengera kugira ngo bagere kuri iyo ntego ni ngombwa ko baba benshi mu ngabo. Kuko burya ukurusha ingufu, aba akurusha n'ubutegetsi. Amasasu yaravuze abatutsi ubutegetsi bubasaba gushyira intwaro hasi ngo noneho hakorwe imishyikirano. Kubera ko Leta (umubyeyi wa twese) itagombaga kwemera ko umwana w'ikivu-me, akomeza kwica bagenzi be yitwaje ko ashyigikiwe n'abatutsi bo muri Uganda, Zaire, na Burundi. Leta yaje gukora uko ishoboye yemerera guha izo nyenzi ibyo zishakaga. Nta kindi Leta yarwanagaho usibye kubuza amaraso y'inzirakarengane kumenekera ubusa. Ibyo byose Ndadaye Melchior nawe yarabibonaga kandi abizi. Kuko ikibazo cy'abahutu n'abatutsi ntawe ukimurusha kubera ko yabaye impunzi. N'umuryango we abatutsi bakawutsembe. Twese twibuka atangariza amahanga ko azafasha ubutegetsi bw'u Rwanda mu gukemura ibibazo

igihugu cyacu gifite, we yemezaga ko azi neza.

Mu kwiyamamaza kwa Melchior Ndadaye yavugaga ko azihutira guhindura ibyo Buyoya n'abatutsi be batsimbarayeho imyaka n'imyaka. Aha umuntu yahitaga yumva ko ikibazo cya mbere cyihutirwa ari ugukora umutwe umwe w'ingabo z'igihugu ugizwe n'umutwe umwe uhuriweho n'ubwo-ko bwose. Ibyo kandi bigakorwa bivuye ku bushake bw'abaziyamo. Dore ko kw'isi hose mu gisirikari hajyamo ababyifuza kandi babishoboye. Ibyo bigakorwa nta gahato. Ibyo abahutu baje gusanga ari politiki nziza. Nibwo abahutu bose bacengejwemo ko ubwo ubutegetsi bwa gitutsi bwanze ko ishyaka Palipehutu rikorera ku mugaragaro, ko abayoboze b'amashyaka yose, abonekamo abahutu baha ama-

imibiri gusa yabaga ije kumwerekako ingoma ya gitutsi abahutu bayiseze-reye ari benshi. Abahutu bari bazi neza ubwicanyi Buyoya na Uprona babakoreye bazaga ari benshi muri mitingizi ze bakamuhema aho kumusekera. Bakamuvuma ku mutima aho kumusingiza. Kugeza ubwo Buyoya atunguwe n'ibyo amatara nyakuri yerekanye.

Melchior Ndadaye amaze gutorwa, ikibazo cyahise kiza mu mitwe y'abantu ni ikibazo cy'ingabo. Tubona ko noneho ibyabaye mu Rwanda bikubiye mu masezerano y'Arusha ari nabyo bizaba i Burundi. Gusa icyo twabonaga ko u Burundi buzaturusha ni uko u Burundi bwo bwashoboraga gukemura ibibazo nta maraso amenetsse. Tugitangira twavuze ko FPR yasanze iramutse yinjije nk'uko umuturage uwo ari wese yatahuka, yakwi-



jwi FRODEBU. Ku mukandida uwo ari we wese yagombaga gutanga, akaba ariwe ukemura ibibazo abarundi bafite. Nibwo bakubitanye n'uko FRODEBU yatanze umukandida ugaragara mu mubiri ko ashoboye. Kandi akagaragaza ko ibyo avuga yiyamamaza azabishyira mu bikorwa. Ubwo abahutu benshi bitabiriye gutora FRODEBU. Bahimba amayeri yo kujya bajya muri za mitingizi ziyobowe na Buyoya, bakamwerekako bari inyuma ye.

Buyoya agataha i Bujumbura yizeye ko abo yabonye amajwi azatorwa byanze bikunze. Nyamara yabonaga

njizwa mu ngabo ari uko hakozwe ibarura. Buri bwoko bugahabwa aba ofisiye bangana n'umubare w'abagize ubwo bwoko. Icyo gihe aba ofisiye b'abahutu baba benshi kurusha ab'abatutsi. Ni nayo mpamvu FPR ikomeje gutsimbarara ku cyifuzo cy'uko baringaniza. Guverinoma y'u Rwanda igatanga 50 ku ijana, FPR nayo 50.

### Hashobora kumenekera amaraso.

Melchior Ndadaye ashobora kuryohereza n'uriya mwanya w'umukuru w'igihugu, maze agatinya gukora ku buyobozi bw'ingabo. Maze bigtuma havuka imvururu zikuruwe na Palipe-



hutu igitsimbaraye ku ntegano yayo yo kwinjiza abahutu mu gisirikare. icyo gihe amaraso yameneka ari menshi bigaha urwitwazo abasirikari b'abatutsi guhirika ubutegetsu bwa Ndadaye bi-twaje ko bwananiwe. Ubwo Buyoya cyangwa se undi musirikari w'umutu-tsi batekereza kimwe akaba asubiye ku ngoma. Noneho ya ngoma y'igitugu Kangura yahiritse ikaba iragarutse. Ibyo kandi birashoboka kubera ko iyo ufite amafaranga n'imbunda byose bi-ba bishoboka. Hari ibihugu byinshi byahita bishyigikira iyo ngoma y'ubu-retwa. Nka Uganda ntiyahatangwa, tutibagiwe n'imisanzu y'abatutsi bo hirya no hino ku isi baba bifuza gusubi-ra ku cyansi.

### Inama twagira Ndadaye.

Ndadaye yagombye kumara kura-ira maze agahita yimika Minisitiri w'Intebe w'Umututsi. Mbere yo ku-mushyiraho bakabanza bakumvikana ko umurimo wa mbere wibanze ari ukuvugurura ubutegetsu bw'ingabo. Kubera ko abarundi bose bangana i-mbere y'amategeko, Ubwo bakegera ubuyobozi bwa Palipehutu maze ba-kemera ko ikorera noneho ku mugara-garo, nk'uko CDR ikorera mu Rwanda cyangwa se uko ANC ikorera muri Afu-rika y'epfo. Maze ingabo za Palipehutu ziboneka hirya no hino ku isi zigahu-zwa n'iz'abatutsi zisanze weho maze ha-gakorwa umutwe umwe ugize intwa-ramuheto z'u Burundi. Bitabaye bityo Ndadaye akabeshywa ko ku kibazo cy'ingabo kizigwa buhoro buhoro, ko ingabo z'abahutu zizinjizwa buhoro

buhoro, byazatuma amaraso y'inzira-karengane amenekera ubusa.

### Palipehutu irabitekereza ho iki?

Twaganiriye n'abayobozi ba Pali-pehutu batubwirako ko batoye FRODE-BU mu rwego rwo guhirika Uprona ya-ranzwe no kumena amaraso gusa. Ngo icyo basaba Ndadaye ni uko we na Mi-nisitiri w'Intebe wiwe. Bashaka uku-ntu ingabo za Palipehutu zize ku buryo buhagije zahuzwa n'iz'abatutsi maze zigakora intwaramuheto z'u Burundi. Ibyo byarangira hakabona gukorwa irindi vugururwa ry'ubutegetsu. Ibyo nibdashoboka ngo bishobora kumera nko mu Rwanda. Amaraso yashaka akameneka ariko abasigaye bakabaho nabi. icyo gihe Ndadaye nakomeza kwirengagiza ko ingabo za Palipehutu zihari kandi ziri masi, ngo zizatera. Ka-ndi zitere ziturutse mu gihugu hose ku-ko ntaho zitaba ziri nyuma yo gutahuka kw'impunzi. Ngo zizerekana ubutwari bwazo maze zirimbura abari baratumye zihunga. Ubwo noneho amahanga asabe ko n'i Burundi habaho Arusha. Nguko uko Ndadaye arebye nabi ibyo yita ubutegetsu byabyara uburetwa.

### U Rwanda rubibona gute?

Ikibazo cy'u Burundi cyari kiba-ngamiye u Rwanda ku buryo bugara-gara. Ibyo byagaragaye nyuma y'aho ikinani cyohereje telegramu y'ishimwe Ndadaye. Iyo telegramu yababaje aba-tutsi bose dore ko yakozwe nyuma y'amasaha make ibarura ry'amajwi ya Ndadaye rigaragaye ko ari butsinde. Byatumye abantu bibuka ukuntu iki-

nani cyabeshyaga Buyoya buri gihe ko ari inshuti. Uretse ko iyo ubuvandimwe buje, ubucuti burasimangatana. Ibyo byaje no kugaragara muri telegramu za Nsengiyaremye, Minisitiri w'Intebe w'u Rwanda. Ibyo byishimo byose na-biterwaga no kubona abarundi ingo-ma ya gitutsi ihirimye. Ni ukuvuga rwo ibyishimo bagaragaye iyo ngoma ira-mutse igarutse ntiyatugwa neza. Naho yamara igihe gito yasiga yeretse u Rwanda ko intama zambarwa. Niyo mpamvu rero u Rwanda rugomba gu-kora ibishoboka byose ngo ibijyana n'ingoma ya gitutsi byose bihirimane n'abayishyigikiye. Ubwo u Rwanda rwagombye gukora ibishoboka byose i Burundi hakaboneka ingabo z'aba-hutu. Byaba ngombwa tukaba twazi-tabaza mum gihe 40 ku ijana by'inyenzi zizaba zinjijwe mu ngabo z'u Rwanda zizaba zigize akaraha kajyaye. Kuko bishoboka ko inyenzi zizaba zije mu myanya yose y'ingabo z'u Rwanda zi-shobora kongera gufatanywa na Muse-veni maze zitatugwa gitumo. Ibyo bi-rashoboka. Utabibona ni uwarozwe n'ibizungerezi. Umuti: u Burundi bura-mutse bubonye ingabo z'abahutu twakwizera ko ikibazo cy'inyenzi gise-zerewe burundu. Ko naho zaturuka he twazikubita ya nshuro y'ingabo z'u Rwanda. Nta butegetsu butagira inga-bo. Kandi uri mu mahoro ategura i-ntambara. Uri mu ntambara ategura amahoro. Nguko uko i Burundi Pali-pehutu ishobora gucyemura ibibazo byayo ikoresheje kumena amaraso.

NGEZE Hassan



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KANGURA ibarizwa mu Burundi hose:  
- Bujumbura (Marie) : ni kwa NTAKABA-  
NYURA Joseph ku Musaga.  
- BUJUMBURA (Rural) : ni kwa NYA-  
NDWI Dieudonné mw' Sale  
- GITEGA : ni kwa NTAHIMPERA Grégoire  
- Nyamugari  
- CIBITOKE : ni kwa NDAYISENGA Jules  
mu Rugombo.  
- KANYANZA : ni kwa NZOBONIMPA

Andurw' Gatwara  
MURAMVYA ni kwa KARIWAMI  
Benoit mu Biganda  
BURURI : ni kwa KABURA Marcelle i Ki-  
ramba  
- SUBANZA ni kwa HARIMENSHI Jean  
Marie ku Mvokora  
- KIRUNDO ni kwa MACUMI Jonas mu  
Rusizi  
- MUYINGA ni kwa BASOMINGERA  
François Xavier kw' I Taba  
- CANKUZO : ni kwa MANARIYO i Mu-  
shaha  
- RUYIGI : ni kwa BURARAME Antoine i  
Muyaga  
- RUTANA : ni kwa SAKUBU Léonce  
i Nkoma  
- MAKAMBA : ni kwa NTAKABURIMVO  
Martin i Nyabigina  
- KARUZA : ni kwa BARUTWANAYO Em-  
manuel i Buhiga  
KANGURA irabarizwa no muri  
za mitingi zose z'amashyamba aharanira  
guhira ubutegetsi bwa Gitutsi.



PEREZIDA HABYARIMANA  
ATEYE URUJIGO.



## Demokarasi RUKOKOMA, si inzibacyuho, si intambara....

Nigeze kunyura muri komini Kagano i Cyangugu mpura n'abana b'abanyeshuri bagenda baririmba ngo : «Turashaka Rukokoma, tura-shaka Rukokoma....». Nabajije umwe muri bo icyo Rukokoma isobanura aya indimi ati : «Rukokoma ni Rukokoma nyine, niko aba MDR babitwigishije». Abo ni abana ariko no mu bakuru abasobanukiwe n'iryo jambo ni mbarwa. Ubu ho noneho nawa muriro wa Rukokoma usa n'uwazimye; Twagiramungu niwe wenyine ukwuhembera bikanga. Mu by'ukuri rero mu Rwanda ntacyo Rukokoma imaze uretse kuzikura impitigihe no kworora amatiku, inzangano n'amazimwe. Ese ubundi icyo Rukokoma yatangirira ku bihe bihe . Bya Habyarimana gusa ? bya Kayibanda se cyangwa bya Rwabugili, Gihanga na Kigwa ? Twavugaga se ko ba banyapolitiki bishwe ku ngoma ya Habyarimana baruta ubwinshi abatutsi n'abahutu bose bapfuye muri Repubulika ya mbere kubera ibibazo by'amoko na politiki ? Umugomekazi (bambwe umugabekazi) Kanjogera na bene wabo babura se kuryozwa ibihanga by'abahutu bagatira ingano ?

Iby'umutungo wa Leta wasahuwe, ntabwo ari bariya bakungahajwe n'ingoma zose, banyereje ibyo bashinzwe kurinda, bariye

Intambara igitangira ati tuza-rwana kugeza kuwanyuma. Ikomeje yemeza ko abaguye ku rugamba tuzabahorera. Ikaze cyane ati abatutsi tutarebye neza badusubiza mu bwami. Yibwirira abanyarwanda ko nta gushyikirana n'inyenzi igihe cyose zizaba zikiri ku butaka bw'u Rwanda. Ntibiteye kabiri ya mishyikirano yangaga aba arayemeye. Yizeza CDR ko MRND ateguka itazajya muri Guverinoma CDR idafitemo umwanya. Ati ayo masezerano adaha amahirwe angana amahuriro yombi nta wayasinyira. Ntihasize igihe, ati ndi Ikinani cyananiye abagome n'abagambanyi. Ubwo

ruswa zirenze ihaniro mu kazi bahemberwa, bari bakwiye kuroha abatazi ubwenge mu bisingizo bya Rukokoma kuko ari nabo yahitana bwa mbere. Burya n'umutege mubi ushobora kwica nyirawo.... Bamwe ngo urumogi, abandi ngo ingagi, ngo amadovize n'ibindi bifitirano bagereka kubo batavugurumwe cyangwa ku mukuru w'igihugu n'umuryango we kandi ari nta gihamba na gito babifitiye. Ikinyoma na demokarasi ntibikorana ! Dore nko muri Zayire bamaze igihe kirenga umwaka biyesura amanywa n'ijoro ngo bari muri «Conférence Nationale» none ibintu byarushijeho kuba umwaku. Rukokoma si demokarasi kuko ari nta ruhare rubanda ruyifitemo, sirwo ruyisaba kuko rutanayizi, sirwo ruyiyobora kandi ntiyibanda ku nyungu zarwo.

Ibyanzuro iyifatiwemo ireba bene imitsima n'abafite irari ryo kuyibatsimbura bonyine. Nk'icyo Tschisekedi na Birindwa babyiganira intebe mu makoraniro mpuzamahanga ntibatuma umuturage yihitiramo umuhagararira.

Ibya guverinoma y'inzibacyuho byo ni amahano, ni kudeta nka Rukokoma cyangwa za zindi za gisirikare zisanzwe; nta hame rya politiki rihamye yishingikirizaho. Abaturage ntibatanze icyifuzo cyabo kuri icyo guverinoma, ntibagize

aba ahunze MRND yashinze, abayoboze bayo basigara mu kangaratete. Mu Ruhengeri ati aya masezerano ni ibipapuro, sinyashyiraho umukono. Ageze i Kigali ati mbere y'uko yemerwa azabanze anyuzwe muri referendum cyangwa mu nama y'abadepite. None yemeye kuyasi-nya no kuyashyigikira, n'ubwo ku mutima atayemera. None Habyarimana n'inshuti ye Kanyarengwe batatanije guhirika Kayibanda bagiriwe inama na Lizinde bashyize umukono ku masezerano yo kwimurira intambara ku mupaka ikaza imbere mu gihugu. Sibwo u Rwanda rubaye nka Somaliya !

uruhare mu kuyishyiraho, ntibagezwaho imikorere yayo. Inzibacyuho rero ntaho zitaniye n'ingoma z'igigtugu zigomba gusezererwa, si demokarasi kuko zigamije kurengera inyungu z'udutsiko twazishyizemo, duteguka twonyine. Nka hano mu Rwanda udutsiko twariremwe duhuzaga umugambi wo gufata ubutegetsi dukoresheje ibishoboka byose : imvururu, amacakubiri, intambara n'ibindi bikorwa bigayitse nko gufatanya n'umwanzi wa twese kubera inyota yo gutegeka. Hari abafite ibyo bapfa ku giti cyabo na Habyarimana, hari n'abanyakarere ngo bashavujwe nuko abakiga, ariko cyane cyane abashiru n'igikomangoma cyabo, babacuze ku butegetsi maze izo nzigo zigakoreshe abo bese ibidakwiranye n'imigirire y'umuntu wese ukunda igihugu cye. Iyo bageze rero muri guverinoma bihatira kwihimura kubo batavugurumwe cyangwa badahujwe akarere babafunga, babirukana ku kazi ku maherere, babambura imyanya bari-mo nta mpamvu zirebana n'akazi. Bagera n'aho baniga itangazamaku-ru ritabashimisha, barasahura ku mugaragaro, batsimbarara kuri minisiteri izi n'izi nk'umurage wabo... Urundi rwego kaminuza rwo ni urw'abatutsi batigeze bemera na rimwe ko u Rwanda rutegekwa n'umuhutu. icyakora bo nta kubatindaho kandi niko bigomba kugenda kuko bari mu kuri kwabo



kandi bafite intego ihamye y'igihe kirekire. Kuribo Perezida yaba Kanyarengwe, Habyarimana, Kayibanda (---), Nsengiyaremye cyangwa Gatabazi byose ni kimwe ni ukubarwanya kuko ari abahutu. Kumva radiyo-kinyoma Muhabura ishyigikira MDR, PSD, PL si urundi rukundo ikunda ayo mashyaka ahubwo ni ukugira ngo nayo afashe abatutsi guhirika icyo bita ingoma mputu bashaka gusimbuza ingomantutsi n'ibibi byayo byose. Inkotanyi n'abatutsi bo bashaka inzi-bacyuho itagira iherezo kugira ngo ibintu bikomeze kudogera bahasarurire izindi ngufu n'indi mituho kuko amatora yo batakoramo. Aho abo nibo batuzaniye demokarasi (y'imbunda) ra!

FPR-inkotanyi rero ngo yavumbye undi mutwe wo kuzana demokarasi, guhindura u Rwanda igihugu kigendera ku mategeko no kubahiriza uburenganzira bw'ikiremwa muntu ikoresheje intambara y'amasasu, itikiza imbaga y'abahutu bo mu turere yigaruriye, ikura inzirakarengane mu byazo, itega za mine, itera za gerenade, yicisha imbunda n'amarozi nk'uko yabigenje kuri Gabyisi, Kalisa, Gacinya n'abandi basirikare n'abasiviri bakomeye yiranguje. Buri munyarwanda wese ushyira mu kuri no mu gaciro mba kumenya ko intego ya FPR y'ibanze ari ugufata ubutegetsi ku ngufu no kugira umuhutu ingaruzwamuheto. Ibyo bindi ivuga ni ukuyobya amarari no gucurika amahanga. Ntiwashaka demokarasi maze ngo uze wica abaturage kandi aribo ubutegetsi bwose bwagombye gushingiraho. FPR yarimbaguye rero abo baturage karahava: ngaho muri Nkumba, Kidaho, Cyeru, Butaro, Kinigi, Nyarutovu, Ruhondo, Nyamugali, Kivuye, Mukarange, Muvumba, Kibali, Cyumba, Kiyombe, Cyungu, Kinyami, Buyoga, Bwisige, Gituza, Ngarama, Tumba n'ahandi hose yageraga, cyangwa yoherezagayo bya katiyusha. Nta demokarasi izanwa n'ubwoko nyamuke ari nabwo bugize umutwe w'inyenzi-inkotanyi n'ibiyitsa byazo kuko mu matora amajwi yabwo aba agerwa ku mashyi.

gero rubi rwo kutayakurikiza. Uretse ko zinabeshya ngo ubutegetsi bwazibujije guhunguka, impunzi ntizemerewe gusubira mu gihugu cyazo zirwana; ahubwo sinzi igituma HCR (umuryango mpuzamahanga ureba iby'impunzi) igifata inkotanyi nk'impunzi kandi zaraciye ku mategeko yose azigenga.

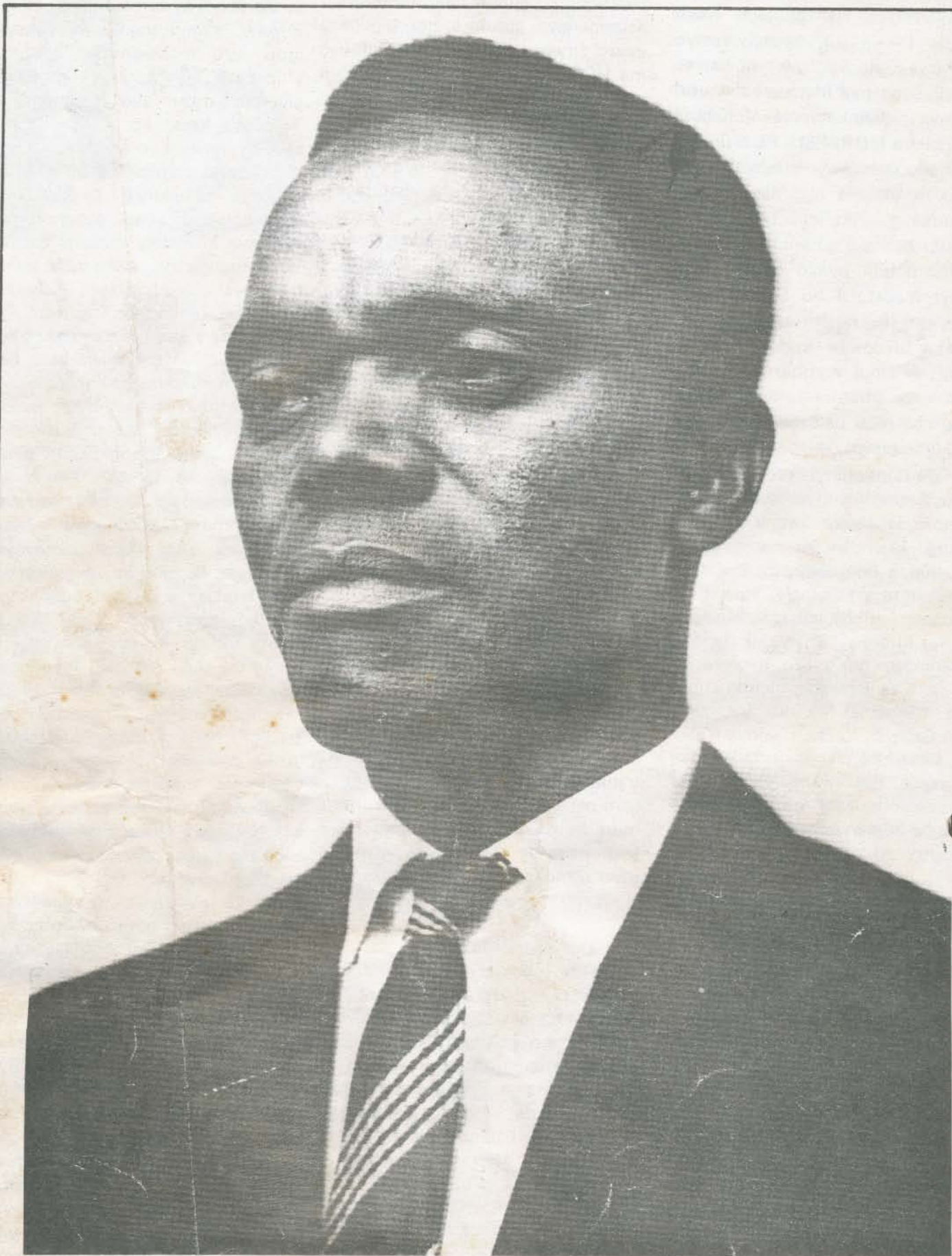
Amategeko y'intambara yo zayakubye na zero : zishe abaturage batazirwanyije, zakoresheje intwari zibujijwe, zaciye ku masezerano y'amahoro zishoza indi mirwano, zasenyeye ibikorwa by'amajyambere n'ibidukikije, zarasahuye, zigaruriye igice cy'ubutaka bw'igihugu ku ngufu n'ibindi n'ibindi. Ntiwakwihandagaza ngo urarengera uburenganzira bwa muntu maze ngo uze wica ibiremwa-muntu. Ingabo za FPR zakoze amarorerwa arenze kamere nko kwenda abagore n'abakobwa ku ngufu byarangira zikabaca amabere cyangwa zikabica, zicaga urw'agashinyaguro abo zifashe baba abasiviri cyangwa abasirikare, zasatuye inda z'abagore batwite, zahotoye impinja, zisogota abasaza n'abakecure. Ubwo se warengera ute uburenganzira bw'abo wamaze gutsembatsemba cyangwa gukura mu byabo? Hanyuma se 90% by'abanyarwanda bizakomeza koko kuba ibitambo by'imitwe y'inkorambaraso y'abatutsi, batagize icyo babaye ahubwo basumbakajwe muri byose n'ubutegetsi bwa Habyarimana na MRND ye, ngo iyo niyo demokarasi? Oya, demokarasi si intambara y'amasasu!

Demokarasi ni amatora adafite-tse, ufite ingufu z'ibitekerezo zikagaragazwa n'abaturage. Kugeza uyu muni aho amatora yakoreshejwe neza ninaho ubutegetsi bwashimuranyeye nta mvururu, nta rukokoma, nta guverinoma z'inzi-bacyuho, nta .... ntambara. Ingero zirahari : Burundi, Mali, Zambiya, Magagascar n'ahandi. Hari n'aho umuperezida yongeraga gutorwa nko muri Kenya, Senegali, Kameruni, Côte d'Ivoire..... binyuze mu nzira ya demokarasi.

Abo ninabo wavuga ko bafite ubutegetsi buhamye bw'abaturage, bwashyizweho, n'abaturage, bukorera abaturage. No mu bakoresheje

byaba byarabaye mahire nko muri Benin na Kongo ariko ni hakeya cyane kandi byasizemo ibyo bihugu imvune y'umutungo wayoyokeye muri ayo makoraniro y'urudaca y'urudaca n'iy'igihe cy'imfabusa gihirera muri ako kaduruvayo. Tumenye kandi ko n'inkovu z'ibisebe byatewe n'iyi rukokoma n'iyi nzibacyuho zisibangana bitinze iyo zitabaye umufunzo ! Nko mu Rwanda ubu abari guhohoterwa cyangwa kuvutswa inyungu bafiteho uburenganzira ntibazapfa kurenzaho ahubwo bazakora ibishoboka byose bihimure. Tugarutse ku bavandimwe bacu b'abarundi, abahutu nabo iyo babishaka baba barasabye rukokoma yo kubaza impamvu abatutsi biharira ibyiza byose by'igihugu maze bakongeraho no kwica abahutu urobozo buri gihe. Abashaka ko ibintu bihinduka bari nabwo gushaka ko hajyaho guverinoma y'inzi-bacyuho mbere y'amatora. Abo bose barwanya ubutegetsi bumaze imyaka mirongo itatu buniga demokarasi, buhohotera ikiremwa-muhutu bari kandi bafite uburyo bwose bwo guteza imvururu no gushoza intambara yo kwibohozza narindi bo bizeraga inkunga ikomeye ya rubanda rwose bakaba bari gutsinda nta shiti. Ariko bashyize mu gaciro basanga ubutegetsi ubwaribwo bwose buzanywe n'imbunda no kumenya amaraso cyangwa bukomotse ku makimbirane y'abanyagihugu ntaho buba bushingiye, ahubwo buba bwubatswe ku musenyi musa. Babonaga kandi ko ubwo buryo bw'intambara busenya igihugu aho kucyubakakaba, bugisubiza inyuma aho kugiteza imbere mu majyambere no mu bitekerezo, bubangamira demokarasi nyayo. Nibwo rero bategereza amatora maze na perezida Buyoya ntiyabatenguha ndetse yihutira kuyakoresha nubwo umugambi we wari uwo gufatirana amashyamba bahanganye atarashyamba imizi mu gihugu cyose. Ariko abahutu bari barashavye bihagije ku buryo n'umunota umwe wari uhagije wo kwiyamamaza kwa Ndabayeho kugira ngo bamumenye kandi bazamuhundagazeho amajwi y'urufaya we n'ishyamba rye FRODEBU mu matora.





Nyuma y'imyaka 34 utugejeje kuri Revolisiyo yo muri 1959, u Rwanda ruritegura kunga amoko ku ngufu. Dukeneye inama z'uko wabigenzaga.